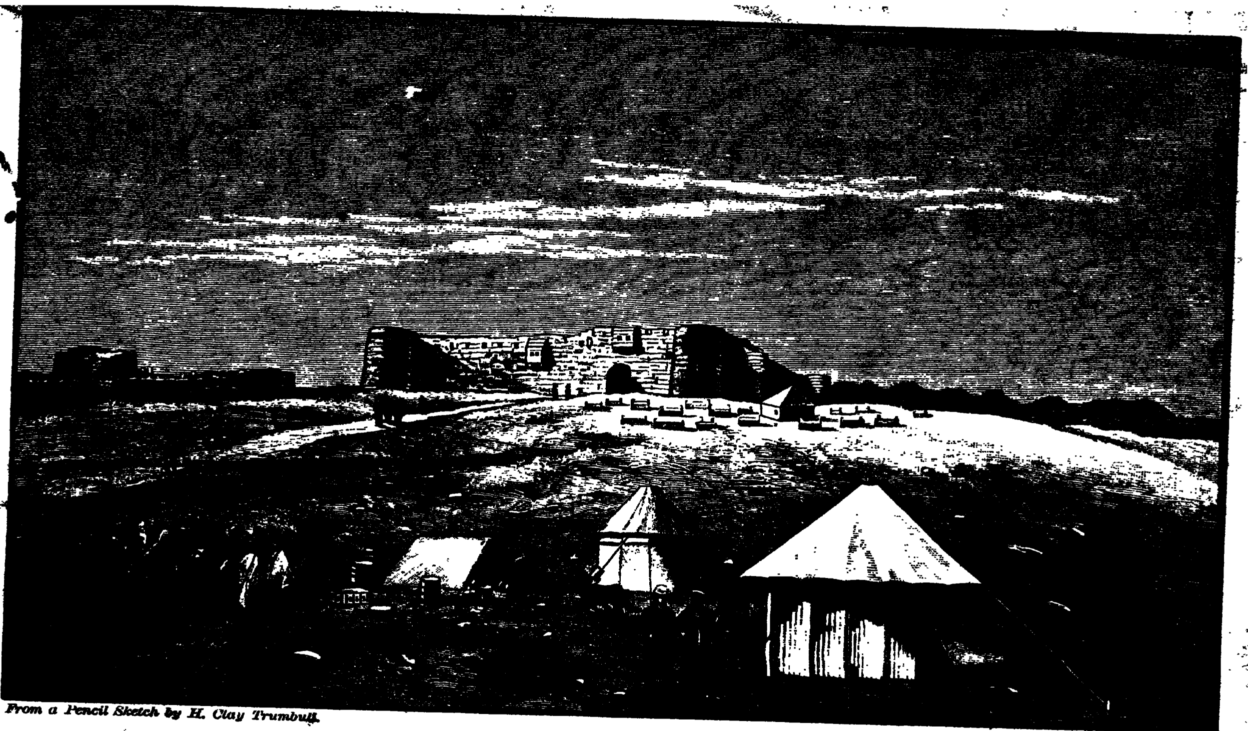


From a Pencil Sketch by H. Clay Trumbull.

CASTLE NAKHL IN THE DESERT ET-TEEH.

"EL-PARAN ON THE WILDERNESS."

KADESH-BARNEA

ITS IMPORTANCE AND PROBABLE SITE

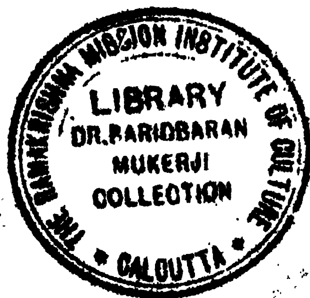
INCLUDING

STUDIES OF THE ROUTE OF THE EXODUS AND THE SOUTHERN BOUNDARY OF THE HOLY LAND

BY

H. CLAY TRUMBULL D. D.

Member of the Society of Biblical Archæology and of the Victoria Institute and Fellow of the American Geographical Society



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TO

THE REV. JOHN ROWLANDS

AND TO

THE MEMORY OF

PROFESSOR EDWARD HENRY PALMER

AND

THE REV. F. W. HOLLAND

THE EARLIEST

THE MOST EMINENT

AND THE MOST WIDELY EXPERIENCED

OF ENGLISH EXPLORERS

IN THE SEARCH

FOR

KADESH-BARNEA

THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED

BY

AN AMERICAN FOLLOWER IN THEIR TRACK

AND ADMIRER OF THEIR

SPIRIT AND WORK.

Bynum Kap.

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INTRODUCTION.

At first thought, Kadesh-barnea may seem a small subject for a large book; and it may even be deemed a subject of minor interest in the realm of biblical and geographical research. But Kadesh-barnea was a site of importance forty centuries ago. It was more than once the scene of events on which, for the time, the history of the world was pivoting. And for now well-nigh twenty centuries the location of Kadesh-barnea has been a matter of doubt and discussion among Jewish and Christian scholars.

Going into the desert of Arabia for the express purpose of avoiding study, on an enforced-vacation ramble, I was enabled, most unexpectedly, to re-discover a long-lost site which had borne an important part in the discussions over Kadesh-barnea. This laid upon me the duty of giving to the public the results of my personal observations. Desiring, however, to present the facts of my discovery in the light of kindred facts brought out by predecessors in this field of research, I delayed the publication of my story until I could examine anew the more important works already treating on this subject. Giving a mere announcement of my discovery, in the Quarterly Statement of the (London) Palestine Exploration Fund, on my return from the East, in the summer of 1881, I set myself at the study of the facts involved.

The linkings of Kadesh-barnea proved far more numerous and varied than I anticipated, and the possibilities of gain from farther

investigation in the fields of ancient and modern scholarship, opened more widely at every step of my progress. The four hundred volumes specifically cited, and the more than two thousand notes separately given from those volumes, indicate but a minor portion of the many volumes searched, and of the many noteworthy passages examined, in the course of that prolonged investigation. But the results have fully justified the belief, that to settle the location of Kadesh-barnea would be to settle many another point in dispute; and I think it will be found that this volume furnishes the material for determining the Route of the Exodus, the main outline of the Wanderings, and every landmark on the line of the Southern Boundary of the Land of Promise.

The necessity of furnishing the proof of old errors assailed, and of truths newly declared, has expanded this volume far beyond its original plan, and has multiplied its citations of works in various tongues. Yet the main text of the work is so written as to be complete by itself, and intelligible to a reader who understands only English. The appended notes are largely for the benefit of those who desire to verify, or to test, my statements; although many of them are in fuller illustration of points made in the text.

Having fresh evidence, at every stage of my studies, of the frequent errors of my predecessors through their failure to verify quotations, I have been careful in every citation to cite directly from the authority quoted; except in the few instances where I have specifically mentioned an intermediary agency through which alone I was able to refer to a work cited.

I have reason to acknowledge gratefully the kind assistance, at one point and another in my researches, of the late Professor Edward Henry Palmer, the Rev. John Rowlands, Mr. Walter Besant, and Mr. Trelawney Saunders, of England; of the Rev. Dr. H. H. Jessup, of Syria, and Mr. Edward Van Dyck, of Egypt; also of Professors Isaac H. Hall, J. A. Paine, C. H. Toy, Charles A. Briggs, S. T. Lowrie, C. D. Hartranft, and T. W.

Coit, the Rev. Dr. T. W. Chambers, and of Drs. W. C. Prime, and J. Hammond Trumbull, and Mr. M. Heilprin, on this side of the Atlantic. Moreover, I desire to recognize my special indebtedness to Mr. John T. Napier, of Philadelphia, without whose varied and accurate scholarship, and unvarying readiness of efficient service at every point in my researches, I should never have been able to bring this work to completion, or to give it the exceptional value in its peculiar line, which I think it will be found to possess.

The transliterating of Oriental words has naturally proved a vexed question; there being no commonly recognized system to which I could conform, and no possibility of framing a system which should fully meet every difficulty in the premises. My endeavor has been, to employ such phonetic equivalents as will best convey the *sound* of the original, according to the English (or the American) uses of the Roman letters. My spelling, in this line, differs at some points from that of any one writer with whom I am familiar; yet it follows at each point some such authority as Lane, or Wilkinson, or Robinson, or Palmer, or Birch, or Meyer, or Burton. Its peculiarity is, that at nearly all points it is conformed to a common standard.

In my citations I have adopted the spelling of the writer cited; and so in the case of all biblical names, except the name of "Kedor-la'omer," for which I have employed two forms. A thoroughly established proper name, like "Cairo," I have given in its popular form. The vowels I have employed, as nearly as may be, in their ordinary English force, instead of in their French or German or Italian force. For example, the designation of the Arabs of the desert is here given as *Bed'ween*, rather than as the French-English *Bedouin*, or the German-English *Bedawîn*. The double vowel *ee* has its sound as in *meet;* and *oo*, as in *moon*. With a circumflex sign, *â* has a long and broad sound, somewhat as in *bard*. With the same sign, *ô* is sounded long, as in *gore*. With a long quantity, *ā* is sounded long, as in *day*. The diphthong *ay*, in the body

of a word, is sounded as a cross between the *ei* in *vein* and the *ey* in *eye;* where (in the Arabic) it is modified by a preceding guttural, as in *'ayn*, its sound is more nearly that of the latter, *ey* in *eye.* The sign of the aspirate, as in *'ayn*, marks a peculiar guttural sound unattainable by the ordinary American.

To distinguish between the Arabic letters, *qaf* and *kaf*, *q* is used for the former, and *k* for the latter. The fifth letter of the Arabic alphabet is pronounced by the Egyptians as hard *g;* while in Palestine and the Sinatic desert it is pronounced as *j;* and that distinction I have recognized by the use of *g* and *j* in the same word as it appertains to the different regions: thus the Gebel (Mountain) in Egypt, is the Jebel (Mountain) in Palestine.

The phototype illustrations are from photographs taken, with this work in view, by Mr. Edward L. Wilson, of Philadelphia, who subsequently went over a portion of the desert traversed by me (as also to Petra, and beyond), under the guidance of my old dragoman; bringing back from his tour a choice collection of photographic views. The maps are compiled from the best available sources, with such tentative changes as will indicate to the reader the geographical points made in the text of my work. Having no new survey of the region, I cannot be sure of its topography, beyond the statements in my verbal description.

That there are errors in this volume I cannot doubt. That it throws fresh light upon the subject of which it treats, I firmly believe. That, as a whole, it will prove a means of correcting time-honored mistakes, and of bringing overlooked truths into prominence, I sincerely hope. It is, moreover, my confident expectation that more good will come from the new discussion which this volume provokes, than from the immediate conclusions of its own discussion of the main points at issue.

H. CLAY TRUMBULL.

PHILADELPHIA, *December* 1, 1883.

I

KADESH-BARNEA:

ITS MANIFOLD IMPORTANCE.



KADESH-BARNEA.

1. IN STORY AND IN PROPHECY.

KADESH-BARNEA has a manifold importance in the sacred story. Its historical, its geographical, and its providential relations, as disclosed in the inspired record, are of no ordinary or mean degree. A study of Kadesh-barnea in its varied biblical associations involves a study of the story of God's peculiar people, from the days of their great progenitor Abraham to the still vague and shadowy days of unfulfilled prophecy concerning their re-gathering and re-establishing.

This place comes into view as a strategic stronghold in the earliest military campaign of history; at the beginning—in the time of the Father of the Faithful—of the yet progressing struggle of the world-powers with the kingdom of God on earth. It looms up as the objective point of the Israelites in their movement from Sinai to the Promised Land. It is the place of their testing, of their failure, of their judging, and of their dispersion. It is their rallying centre for the forty years of their wandering, and the place of their re-assembling for their final move into the land of their longings. It is the scene of repeated and varied displays of God's power and of his people's faithlessness. And finally it is the hinge and pivot of the southern boundary of the Holy Land in history, and of the Holy Land in prophecy.

To ascertain the location, and to consider the associations of a place of such importance as this, cannot be unworthy of the attention of any careful student of sacred history, of biblical geography, or of God's providential dealings with his chosen people. And to enter upon such a study intelligently, it is desirable to look first at the place as it is shown in its more prominent relations to the movements of that people in the days of their exodus and wanderings.

2. FROM SINAI TO KADESH.

In the history of the Israelitish wanderings, Kadesh-barnea stands over against Sinai in interest and importance. Even Sinai takes a minor place when the element of time is considered; for the Israelites were at the latter point less than a year, while Kadesh-barnea seems to have been their head-quarters, or chief rallying-place, during a space of more than thirty-seven years.

When the unorganized throng of Israelites, which had been hurried out from the bondage of Egypt into the lawless freedom of the desert, had become a compact nation, with its divinely given government and rulers, and its experiences of discipline, the divine command was given for the departure of the mighty host of that nation, from the forming-school of Sinai, across the desert to the sacred rendezvous of Kadesh[1]—the divinely chosen camping ground and sanctuary, on the borders of the Promised Land. "The Lord our God spake unto us in Horeb," says Moses, "saying, Ye have dwelt long enough in this mount: turn you, and take your journey, and go to the mount of the Amorites. . . . And when we departed from Horeb, we went through all that great

[1] The Hebrew word, *Kadesh*, or *Qadhesh* (קָדֵשׁ), means Holy, or Sacred. It corresponds with the Arabic *Quds*, (قدس) or, with the article, *El-Quds*, which is applied to Jerusalem. Concerning the use of this term in biblical and classical history, see Prideaux's *Connection*, Part I., Book 1, p. 87 *f*.

and terrible wilderness, which ye saw by the Way of the Mountain of the Amorites, as the Lord our God commanded us; and we came to Kadesh-barnea."[1]

3. LIGHTS AND SHADOWS AT KADESH.

Kadesh-barnea once reached, and history was there made rapidly, by the people who were yet unready for their inheritance.

From that mountain-shielded covert[2] Moses sent forward spies into Canaan, to examine the land in order to learn its possessions and its possibilities.[3] On the return of those spies to Kadesh,[4] their report caused a fright of the Israelites, which led to a general murmuring and rebellion.[5] It was then that the people turned from their divinely appointed leader, and refused to accept the divine plan for their inheritance; even choosing a captain of their own, with a view to their return to the bondage of Egypt.[6] For this cause, that boundary-line gathering-place of the chosen people on their way to the Promised Land became a limit to their progress for a full generation, and a place of dispersion for a people under the divine displeasure. Kadesh, the sanctuary, now became, or again became, En-mishpat[7] ('Ayn[8] Mishpat), a Fountain of Judgment; and there the guilty people were sentenced to complete a period of forty years, as wanderers in the desert they had already once passed successfully.

[1] Deut. 1: 6, 7, 19.
[2] Deut. 1: 20, 24; Num. 14: 40.

[3] Num. 13: 1-20; 32: 8; Deut. 1: 20-24; Josh. 14: 7.

[4] It is thought by some, that the spies were sent from the wilderness of Paran (Num. 13: 3) *before reaching Kadesh*, although one statement (Deut. 1: 19, 22) would show that they were sent from the latter place; and again (Num. 13: 26) the two places are spoken of interchangeably.

[5] Num. 14: 1-34.
[6] Num. 14: 4; Neh. 9: 16, 17.

[7] In Gen. 14: 7, it is called En-mishpat (עֵין מִשְׁפָּט), or Fountain of Judgment. The probable origin of this name is treated farther on in this volume.

[8] In modern Arabic *'ayn* (literally "an eye") means "a fountain," a natural spring of waters, as distinct from *beer*, "a well" that has been dug.

2

Unwilling to lose all they had gained in reaching that threshold of their coveted inheritance, the rebellious Israelites determined to make at least a struggle for possession by venturing forward into the land which was now forbidden them.[1] Clambering the mountain-pass immediately above their secure possession, in disregard of the warning of Moses, they pushed up into the South Country—the Negeb,[2] or tract of high land between the desert and Canaan proper; but they were met and discomfited by the Amorites and Amalekites[3] of the region they had invaded. All this was within three years after the coming out of Egypt; probably within two years.[4]

[1] Num. 14: 39, 40.

[2] The Hebrew word *Neghebh* or *Negeb* (נֶגֶב) which is rendered in the King James Version "the south," or the "south country," or "southward," (*e. g.* Gen. 12: 9; 24: 62; Num. 13: 17,) is a proper name—the Negeb—and should commonly be so rendered, in order to its better understanding. "The tract below Hebron, which forms the link between the hills of Judah and the desert, was known to ancient Hebrews by a term originally derived from its dryness (Negeb). This was the South Country." (Grove, in *Smith-Hackett Bib. Dict.*, s. v. "Palestine.") "It was a line of steppe-land with certain patches here and there that admitted of cultivation, but in which tracts of heath prevailed, for the most part covered with grass and bushes, where only grazing could be carried on with any success. The term which Eusebius and Jerome employ for 'Negeb' in the Onomasticon is 'Daromas,' but they carry it farther northward than the Negeb of the Old Testament." (Keil and Delitzsch's *Bib. Com.* at Josh. 15: 21–32.) "As a geographical term the name has been entirely ignored in the English version; . . . and the misapprehension has given rise to several absurd contradictions in terms." (Palmer's *Des. of Exod.*, II., 292.) "The rendering 'south' in our Authorized Version, is apt to confuse the general reader." (Edersheim's *Exod. and Wand.*, p. 165.) This point is treated at length in Wilton's *The Negeb.*

[3] In Deut. 1: 44 the Amorites are mentioned, and in Num. 14: 45 the Amalekites. As Kurtz says (*Hist. of Old Cov.*, III., 254): "In the passage in which the historical facts are narrated with greater precision, Amalekites are spoken of along with the Amorites *or* Canaanites, whereas in Deuteronomy the Amorites (*i. e.* Canaanites), who were incomparably more important, are mentioned alone."

[4] It is not clear, from the text, how long the Israelites were journeying from Sinai to Kadesh. The *season* of the year is plain, but not the *year* itself, as various critics have shown in their attempts to prove it clear; *e. g.*, Kurtz says (as above, III., 215 *f.*), "On the twentieth day of the second month (early in May), in the second year of

Then came a long halt at Kadesh. "So ye abode in Kadesh many days, according unto the days that ye abode there."[1] No mention is made in the sacred narrative of any formal departure of the Israelites from Kadesh, until the time came for a new move toward Canaan, at the close of their prescribed wanderings; and then, it is said, all the people, "even the whole congregation,"[2] had again come together in Kadesh, as if in re-assembling at the recognized rendezvous and rallying-point of the scattered nation. The indications of the text are, that when the people found their progress into Canaan barred for a generation, they gradually scattered themselves in larger or smaller groups among the wadies[3] of

the exodus, the people departed from Sinai (Num. 10: 11). On their arrival at the desert of Paran they sent out spies to Palestine (from Kadesh-barnea; Num. 32: 8; Deut. 1: 19 *f.*; Josh. 14: 7), at the time of the first grapes (Num. 13: 21) that is, August (or earlier). . . . Forty days afterwards the spies returned to the camp at Kadesh (Num. 13: 27). The people murmured at the reports of the spies, and Jehovah pronounced the sentence upon them." Lowrie, in the *Schaff-Lange Commentary* (at Num. 14: 1–45), would add at least a year to this computation. He says: "We must infer that the journey from Sinai to Kadesh lasted *at least* from May of the second year of the exodus to July or August of the third year, *i. e.*, fourteen to fifteen months. . . . It may even have lasted longer."

[1] Deut. 1: 46. The rabbins held that this indicates that the Israelites remained at Kadesh as long as at all the other stations combined; or, say, nineteen years. Lightfoot takes the meaning to be,—as long as the stay at Mount Sinai. Patrick, following older authorities, understands it,—as long after the mutiny as before; or, forty days. Keil, and Lange, and others, consider the phrase as intentionally indefinite; the facts being well understood by the Israelites to whom Moses was speaking. Fries, as followed by others, would find here an intimation of the permanent stay at Kadesh, until the march Canaanward was finally resumed. "So ye abode [or, waited] at Kadesh, according unto the days that ye abode [or, as long as ye were sentenced to be waiting]." For light on this point see *Critici Sacri*, Pool's *Synops. Crit.*, Barrett's *Synops. of Crit.*, *Schaff-Lange Com.*, Keil and Delitzsch's *Bib. Com.*, all *in loco;* also Fries's "Ueber die Lage von Kades," in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1854, p. 55.

[2] Num. 20: 1; Deut. 2: 1.

[3] A "wady" is any depression of the desert surface, or any space between the hills, which becomes the bed of a water-course in the rainy season. From its extra water supply a wady is more fertile and arable than the higher ground about it. It is commonly marked with some signs of vegetation throughout the year.

the desert, living a nomad life,—seeking sustenance by sowing and reaping with the divinely added supply of daily manna,—having, all this time, Kadesh as the northernmost limit of their roving, and as, in a peculiar sense, the centre of their occupancy, or the pivot of their wanderings. Meantime, the tabernacle, with its ministry, would seem to have moved, under the divine guidance, from place to place within the limits of the wanderings, as if on circuit, in order that Moses and Aaron might retain a spiritual oversight of the scattered people.

Certain it is, that the popular opinion, of a formal marching to and fro in the desert for the forty years of wandering, finds no more countenance in the text than it does in reason—in view of the purposes of God with his people, and of the habits of Oriental nomads.[1] In this light of the narrative, the stations named in the sacred text, for the period of the wanderings,[2] may be taken either as the stations of the tabernacle on its circuit; or as the exceptionally prominent encampments of the people as a whole, at the earlier or at the later portion of that period.[3]

Hardly a glimpse is given us of the covenant people, in all those years between their first and second formal gatherings at Kadesh; nor can it be supposed that this inspired silence is without a substantial reason. Students of the covenant record, and historians of the covenant people, have recognized a pregnant meaning in the very shadows which obscure the life-story of Israel from Kadesh to Kadesh. "So far as the sacred records

[1] Yet Colenso (*The Pentateuch*, etc., I., 124) insists that the popular opinion is the biblical view, as precedent to his claim that the biblical view is an unreasonable one.

[2] Num. 33: 18–36.

[3] This reasonable view of the settlement, or the prolonged stay, of the Israelites at Kadesh, and of the nomadic character of the forty years' life in the wilderness, is held by many careful and judicious students of the Bible text; however those students may differ in an understanding of the list of stations given in Numbers 33. For example, see: Hasius, in *Reg. David. et Sal.* pp. 211–214; Ewald, in *Hist. of Israel*, II., 193 *ff.*; Ritter, in *Geog. of Pal.*, I., 428 *ff.*; Kurtz, in *Hist. of Old Cov.*, III., 262–

were concerned," says Kurtz,[1] "there was *no history* between the first and second encampments at Kadesh. But whatever happened *while* the first encampment lasted, and whatever occurred *after* the second encampment had taken place, was regarded as forming part of the history to be recorded. . . . Nothing of a stationary (or retrograde) character was regarded as forming part of the history to be recorded; but only that which was progressive. . . . During the thirty-seven years, about which the scriptural records are silent, the history of Israel did not advance a single step towards its immediate object, the conquest of the Promised Land. . . . The thirty-seven years were not only stationary in their character,—years of detention and therefore without a history,—but they were also years of dispersion. The congregation had lost its unity, had ceased to be one compact body; its organization was broken up, and its members were isolated the one from the other. . . . It was only Israel as a whole, the combination of all the component parts, the whole congregation, with the ark of the covenant and the pillar of cloud in the midst, which came within the scope of the sacred records."[2]

"Not only are the names of the encampments [during the wan-

288; Winer, in *Bibl. Realwörterb.*, Art. "Wüste, Arabische;" Tuch, in "Remarks on Gen. XIV.," in *Jour. of Sac. Lit.*, July, 1848, p. 91; Fries, in "Ueber die Lage von Kades," in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1854, p. 55; Lange (and more fully Lowrie, his translator), in *Schaff-Lange Com.* "Numbers"; Espin, in *Speaker's Com.*, at Num. 20: 1; Hayman, in *Smith-Hackett Bib. Dict.*, Art. "Wilderness of the Wandering;" Palmer, in *Des. of Exod.*, II., 515–519; Edersheim, in *Exod. and Wand.*, pp. 171–174; Smith, in *Student's Old Test. Hist.*, pp. 187, 189; Payne Smith, in *Bible Educator*, I., 228 *ff.*; Geikie, in *Hours with Bible*, II., 347. And the rationalistic Wellhausen agrees with his more evangelical fellow-critics on this point, as shown in his article on "Israel" in *Encyc. Brit.*, ninth edition.

[1] *Hist. of Old Cov.*, III., 270 *f.*

[2] "The subject divides itself into two parts; the emancipation and the preparation for conquest. Both of these, Moses treats at large. The space of years which he passes over in silence, is, if I may so speak, the interlude between the two acts of the great drama." (Palfrey's *Lect. on Jewish Script. and Antiq.*, I., 373)

derings] still lost in uncertainty," says Stanley,[1] "but the narrative itself draws the mind of the reader in different directions; and the variations, in some instances as it would seem, of the sacred text itself, repel detailed inquiry still more positively. To this outward confusion corresponds the inward and spiritual aspect of the history. It is the period of reaction, and contradiction, and failure. It is chosen by Saint Paul[2] as the likeness of the corresponding failures of the first efforts of the primitive Christian church; the one 'type' of the Jewish history expressly mentioned by the writers of the New Testament."

In this view of the pivotal and typical character of the Israelites' halt at Kadesh[3] a peculiar interest attaches to every gleam of light on the place itself, and on the incidents having their centre there. It is possible that the rebellion of Korah and his company[4] occurred at Kadesh;[5] and that thus the attempt to wrest the priestly power from Aaron was made at the same place as the effort to take the civil government from the hands of his brother.[6] If this was

[1] *Hist. of Jewish Ch.*, I., 199 *f.*

[2] "1 Cor. 10: 11. 'These things happened unto them for examples'—'types' in the original. This is the true meaning of the word; and it is the only case in which it is applied in the New Testament to the Jewish history."

[3] In the parting blessing, or dying song of Moses, wherein the story of the Theophany is rehearsed to Israel, the Septuagint gives "myriads of Kadesh," where our text gives "ten thousands of saints" (Deut. 33: 2); thus showing Sinai, Paran, Seir, and Kadesh, as uplifted into pre-eminence, as boundary limits of the place of God's chief wonder-working for his people, during their years of training. On this point, see *Critici Sacri*, Pool's *Synops. Crit.*, Barrett's *Synops. of Crit.*, and *Schaff-Lange Com.*, all *in loco;* Ewald's *Hist. of Israel*, vol. II., p. 198, note; Stanley's *Sinai and Pal.* p. 96.

[4] Num. 16.

[5] So claim Kurtz (*Hist. of Old Cov.*, III., 257); Lange (*Schaff-Lange Com.* "Exod. and Lev." "Introduction" p. 25; and "Num. and Deut." p. 85); and others. Forster (*Israel in Wild.*, pp. 290-303) shows reason for believing that Korah's rebellion occurred not earlier than say twenty years after the exodus; but the question of its *date* is apart from the question of its *place*.

[6] Num. 14: 4; Neh. 9: 16, 17.

so, Kadesh became yet again the "Fountain of Judgment" against the insurgents, when there "the earth opened her mouth and swallowed them up;" and a consuming fire came from the Lord; and a pestilence was among the people, destroying "fourteen thousand and seven hundred, besides them that died about the matter of Korah." And it was then and there, also, that the rod of Aaron budded[1] in confirmation of his priestly authority from Jehovah.

It was certainly at Kadesh that Miriam died and was buried;[2] that the people murmured for water; and that Moses struck the Rock,—when he had been told only to speak to it,—and the Lord caused it to give forth again its waters in abundance.[3] And Kadesh, on this latter occasion, became (perhaps for the third time) the "Fountain of Judgment," the place of the uttering of a sentence of God's condemnation, by the Lord's passing judgment on Moses for his presumption, his impatience, and his lack of reverent obedience; sentencing him, as also Aaron, to die outside of the Land of Promise.[4] Then it was, also, that Kadesh, the Holy, became Meribah, or Strife.[5]

It was from Kadesh-barnea that Moses sent messengers to the king of Edom, asking if the Israelites might pass through his country on their way to Canaan;[6] and from the same point, also, a like request was made of the king of Moab.[7] Nor does Kadesh lose its pre-eminence in the story of the wanderings until the final move is made toward Canaan by the Way of the Red Sea, around the mountains of Edom and Moab.[8] It is, in fact, a central point in both the geography and the history of the wanderings. Stanley[9] says, in reviewing the movements of the Israelites: "Two stages alone of the journey are distinctly visible [after Israel has received

[1] Num. 17. [2] Num. 20: 1. [3] Num. 20: 2-11.
[4] Num. 20: 12, 24. This point is more fully treated farther on. See Index, under "Kadesh, names of."
[5] Num. 20: 13. [6] Num. 20: 14-21. [7] Judges 11: 16, 17.
[8] Num. 20: 22; 21: 4-20. [9] *Hist. of Jewish Ch.*, I, 199.

its divine charter as a nation]; from Sinai to Kadesh, and from Kadesh to Moab."

4. THE LINKINGS OF KADESH.

Not only does the name "Kadesh" ("Holy") seem to have been gained by the abiding there of the tabernacle; but the cognomen "Barnea" is thought by many to have been given, in consequence of the sentence of dispersion there passed upon the Israelites. Simon[1] would derive this word from *bar* "desert," and *nea* "wandering;" rendering it, "Desert of the Wandering."[2] Fürst[3] and others give a similar origin, but would take *bar* in its later[4] signification of "son." Jerome[5] held this latter view, and rendered "Barnea" "Son of Change,"[6] corresponding to the idea of "Bed'wy." Others, again, think that "Barnea" was an earlier name for the locality;[7] or, that it was the name of a

[1] In the *Onomast.* s. v. "Barnea." "Barnea, the Desert of the Wandering; that is of the Israelites (from בַּר *bar*, Chaldaic, Syriac, and Arabic, 'desert,' and נֵעַ *nea*, 'wandering.')"

[2] Edersheim (*Exod. and Wand.* p. 172) approves this rendering, and gives as its equivalent, "the Land of Moving to and fro," or, "the Land of being Shaken."

[3] In his *Bible Concordance* (in appended "Onomasticon," pp. 1272, 1290): "Barnea, Son of Wandering: Bed'wee." "Kadesh-barnea, Holy City of the Nomads." Again, (in his *Heb. u. Chald. Wörterb.*,) Fürst thinks that Barnea may correspond with the Arabic مرنعة (*marne'ah*), "a green or blooming meadow." He claims that on sound linguistic principles "Barnea" may come from the root "*ba-ran*," "to be green," or "blooming." This would accord with the prominence of the site of Kadesh as an oasis in the desert.

[4] Hackett (*Smith-Hackett Bib. Dict.*, s. v. "Kadesh," note) points out that "בַּר, *bar* does not occur as 'son,' in the writings of Moses." Hackett adds that "The reading of the LXX. in Num. 34: 4, Κάδης τοῦ Βαρνῆ, seems to favor the notion that it was regarded by them as a man's name." In both these suggestions, Hackett is followed by the *Speaker's Com.* in a note on Numbers 32: 8.

[5] *De Nominibus Hebraicis;* "On Deuteronomy."

[6] "*Filius mutationis.*"

[7] See Keil and Delitzsch, *Bib. Com.* at Num. 20: 14-21; Kurtz's *Hist. of Old Cov.*, III., 221.

prominent place in the neighborhood of Kadesh.[1] Whatever may have been its signification,[2] that name became subordinate to the name which memorialized the abiding there of God's people with the sacred tabernacle.

The exceptional importance of Kadesh-barnea, in its relation to the Israelitish wanderings, and to the Israelitish possessions and history, has long been recognized by students of the Bible story and of the lands of the Bible.

Ewald,[3] thorough and discriminating in his study of the main features of the Hebrew story, despite the fancifulness of many of his theories, says emphatically: "Kadesh is a place which emerges from the darkness of those times as especially important, and where evidently the community of Israel had their central station during a very long period." The cautious and conservative Ritter[4] is even more explicit in making Kadesh the centre of a new national life to the Israelites. "Here began a new capital, so to speak," he says; "the long sojourn at this spot, and their constant conflicts with their warlike neighbors were the means of thoroughly training in warlike discipline the new generation which was born in the wilderness, and which had before it the task of entering the Promised Land." Wellhausen,[5] the cold-blooded German critic, who looks only at the bald historic facts, as *he* sees them in the ancient story, goes a great deal farther than Ewald and

[1] Ewald, in *Hist. of Israel*, II., 293.

[2] Hillerus (in the *Onomast. Sac.*, Tübingen, 1526, *s. v.* "Barnea") explains it as from בְּאֵר נֵעַ, *beer-nea*, meaning "Fountain of the Exile;" that is, of Ishmael. Leusden (in the *Onomast Sac.*, Leyden, 1656; *s. v.* "Kadesh-barnea") explains it as "holiness of the unstable son;" or "holiness of grain," or "of commoved—or unstable—purity." Thomas Wilson, in his *Christian Dict.* (London, 1678) and Calmet, in his *Dictionary* (Paris, 1720) adopted the same explanation as Leusden. Bünting (in the *Itin. Sac. Script.*, Magdeburg, 1591) says "Kadesh means holy: *a pure moving.*" There certainly is no lack, here, of suggested renderings from which to make a choice.

[3] *Hist. of Israel*, II., 193.

[4] *Geog. of Pal.*, I., 428 *f.*

[5] In Art. "Israel," in *Encyc. Brit.*, ninth edition.

Ritter (and Moses), in his estimate of the exceptional importance of Kadesh in the Israelitish history.[1] He not only believes that the Israelites remained there for many years, "having at the well of Kadesh their sanctuary and judgment seat only, while with their flocks they ranged over an extensive tract;" but, in his opinion, Kadesh was the "locality they had more immediately had in view in setting out" from Goshen. It was there, as he sees it, that Moses laid the foundations of the Hebrew commonwealth, and prepared the way for "the nomads of the wilderness of Kadesh" to become the occupants and transformers of Canaan. "If we eliminate from the historical narrative the long Sinaitic section, which has but a loose connection with it," he says, "the wilderness of Kadesh becomes the locality of the preceding and subsequent events. It was during the sojourn of many years here that the organization of the nation, in any historical sense, took place." Such a view as this of the inspired record has its chief value in showing how prominent a place is Kadesh in the Israelitish story, if the plain indications of the sacred text be considered with candor and thoroughness.

Thomson,[2] who is exceptionally familiar with the main correspondences of the Land and the Book, does not hesitate to speak of Kadesh as "one of the most interesting sites in the entire history of the Hebrew wanderings." Stanley,[3] who can certainly see the salient points in a great historical picture, however he may give his own coloring to the minor details of that picture in its reproduction, declares: "There can be no question that next to Sinai, the most important resting place of the children of Israel is Kadesh." And in this declaration, Stanley but re-phrased the opinion of the devout and observing Durbin:[4] "With the exception of Horeb, no place between the passage of the Red Sea and the passage of the

[1] In Art. "Israel," in *Encyc. Brit.*, ninth edition.

[2] *South. Pal.* (Land and Book, new ed.), p. 200.

[3] *Sinai and Pal.*, p. 93.

[4] *Observ. in East*, I., 199.

Jordan concentrates so much interest as Kadesh." Milman,[1] the pioneer of modern English historians of the Jewish race from its beginnings, declared, as a result of his study of the wanderings, and of the entrance into Canaan: "The key to the whole geography is the site of Kadesh." And this opinion of Milman has been reiterated and restated by many a student who has followed him. Lowrie,[2] the competent and careful American translator of Lange's Numbers, says, similarly: "Kadesh is the key to all the geographical problems of the wanderings after the departure from Sinai." Palmer, the distinguished explorer of the desert of the exodus, and of the country above it, was of the same opinion, when he affirmed,[3] of the wilderness of Kadesh: "This is perhaps the most important site in the whole region, as it forms the key to the movements of the children of Israel during their forty years wanderings." Graetz,[4] the latest eminent Jewish historian of his own people, quotes this saying of Palmer as fully a just one. And William Smith,[5] whose extensive historical studies have involved a close acquaintance with the geographical questions of the Israelitish wanderings and possessions, concludes: "To determine the position of Kadesh itself, is the great problem of the whole route."

In short, an agreement on the site of Kadesh is an essential preliminary to any fair understanding of the route and the movements of the Israelites, between Sinai and the Jordan. Yet this "essential preliminary" has thus far been unattainable by Bible students generally. When the English Palestine Exploration Fund began its good work, in 1866, one of the widely known geographers[6] of Great Britain, in expressing his hope of the good results of that undertaking, spoke of Kadesh, as "one of the most hotly contested sites in biblical investigation, and the settlement of which is much

[1] *Hist. of Jews.*, Vol. I, Book IV., p. 242, note.

[2] *Schaff-Lange Com.*, "Num. and Deut," p. 80.

[3] *Des. of Exod.*, II., 349 *f.*

[4] *Gesch. d. Juden*, I., 305.

[5] *Student's Old Test. Hist.*, p. 186.

[6] Trelawney Saunders.

to be desired."[1] Fifteen years later, the chief representative[2] of the Palestine Exploration Fund, in the immediate field of its researches, could say no more, after all those added years of investigation, than that "the recovery of the site of Kadesh-barnea is [still] the most interesting question of the topography of the Sinaitic Desert; and any indication leading to a clearer understanding of the question will be of some value."[3]

Nor is it alone as a key to the geography of the wanderings, that the site of Kadesh has an importance in the field of biblical research. Kadesh is the one place spoken of as "a city" in all the Israelitish encampments. For centuries before this it had been a landmark by which routes of travel were noted, and by which the location of other places had their bearing; and for centuries afterward it was referred to as one of the chief boundary marks of the Land of Promise.[4] To settle its whereabouts is to aid in settling the boundary stretch of Edom,[5] or Seir;[6] the locality of the wilderness of Paran;[7] of the wilderness of Zin;[8] of the Negeb or South Country;[9] and to fix more definitely one of the homes of Abraham;[10] the dwelling-place of rejected Hagar;[11] the sites of mounts Hor[12] and Halak;[13] the site of Tamar;[14] and the route of Kedor-la'omer, in the first really great military campaign of history.[15]

It would, indeed, be strange if the Bible text on the one hand, and the explorations into the lands of the Bible on the other, gave no sure indications of a site so important as is Kadesh-barnea, in both its biblical and its geographical aspects and relations.

[1] From "Quarterly Statement," No. IV., as reprinted in *Surv. of West. Pal.*, "Special Papers," p. 71 *f.*

[2] Capt. C. R. Conder. [3] "Quart. Statement," January, 1881, p. 60 *f.*

[4] Compare Num. 34: 4; Josh. 15: 3; Ezek. 47: 19; 48: 28.

[5] Num. 20: 16. [6] Gen. 36: 8; Deut. 1: 2, 44. [7] Num. 13: 26.

[8] Num. 20: 1; 27: 14; 33: 36. [9] Num. 34: 3-5; Josh. 15: 1-4.

[10] Gen. 20: 1. [11] Gen. 16: 14. [12] Num. 20: 21, 22; 33: 37.

[13] Josh. 11: 16, 17; 12: 7. [14] Ezek. 47: 19; 48: 28. [15] Gen. 14: 1-7.

II.

KADESH-BARNEA.

BIBLICAL INDICATIONS OF ITS SITE.

KADESH-BARNEA.

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1. THE FIRST CAMPAIGN OF HISTORY.

And now what are the indications in the Bible text of the site of Kadesh? What help to its locating is given in the earlier and later references to it in the sacred narrative?

The first mention of Kadesh is in the record of the devastating march of "Chedorlaomer, king of Elam," in the days of the patriarch Abraham.[1] Elam[2] was a country north of the Persian Gulf and east of the Tigris.[3] It was later known as Susiana, with Shushan[4] as its capital. From the Assyrian monuments it has been learned, that, not long before the days of Abraham, an Elamite king had conquered Babylon;[5] and the Bible record here

[1] Gen. 14: 1-16.

[2] See Niebuhr's *Gesch. Assur's u. Babel's*, pp. 382–409; Loftus's *Chald. and Sus.*, chaps. 26 and 28; *Encyc. Brit.*, ninth edition, Art. "Elam," by Sayce; Rawlinson's *Origin of Nations*, pp. 229–231; his *Five Great Mon.*, II., 435; Lenormant and Chevallier's *Anc. Hist. of East*, I., 59, 82, 343, 352; Tomkins's *Times of Abraham*, pp. 166–203; Winer's *Bibl. Realwörterb.*, Art. "Elam;" *Schaff-Lange Com.* and *Speaker's Com.*, at Gen. 14: 5. See, also, Isa. 11: 11; 21: 2; Jer. 25: 25; 49: 34–39; Ezek. 32: 24; Acts 2: 9.

[3] "Elam was bounded on the east by Persia and Parthia; on the west by Assyria and Babylonia; and on the south by the Persian Gulf." (Hamburger's *Real-Encyc.*, s. v. "Elam.")

[4] Neh. 1: 1; Esther 1: 2, etc.; Dan. 8: 2.

[5] "Asshur-bani-pal, the last of the Assyrian conquerors, mentions in two inscriptions that he took Susa 1635 years after Kedor-nakhunta, king of Elam, had con-

shows that the Elamite king Chedorlaomer[1] (or Kedor-la'omer, or Kudur-Lagamar) had sway not only over the whole Tigro-Euphrates basin, but westward over Syria and Canaan, even to the borders of Egypt.

This outreaching of the Eastern king was on a scale before unknown in the history of the world.[2] The Bible story says

quered Babylonia. He found in that city the statues of the gods taken from Erech by Kedor-nakhunta, and replaced them in their original position. It was in the year 660 B. C. that Asshur-bani-pal took Susa. The date, therefore, of the conquest of Babylon by Kedor-nakhunta, and the establishment of the Elamite dynasty in Chaldea, must have been 2295 B. C." (Lenormant and Chevallier's *Anc. Hist. of East*, I., 352.) Authorities differ slightly as to this precise date. See also, on this point, George Smith's translation of "The Annals of Assurbanipal," in *Rec. of Past*, I., 88, and of the "Early History of Babylonia," in *Rec. of Past*, III., 4; and Tomkins's *Times of Abraham*, p. 175 *f.*

[1] "Though the name of Chedor-laomer has not been found [in the course of the Chaldean researches], Laomer or Lagamar appears as an Elamite god, and several of the Elamite kings bore names compounded with Kudur 'a servant,' as Kûdur-Nankhunte, 'the servant of the god Nankhunte,' Kudur-Mabug, 'the servant of Mabug,' and the like." (George Smith's *Chald. Acc. of Genesis*, p. 272 *f.*)

Sir Henry Rawlinson suggested the identification of Kudur-Mabuk, lord of Elam, mentioned on the Babylonian monuments, with the Kedor-la'omer of Genesis. Afterwards he was inclined to abandon this idea. But it has been taken up by the Rev. Henry George Tomkins, and pressed with a strong show of probabilities in its favor. The latter quotes George Smith (apparently from a private letter) as saying: "From his Elamite origin and Syrian conquests, I have always conjectured Kudur-Mabuk to be the same as the Chedor-la'omer of Genesis XIV." Smith had, however, shown that Rawlinson's finding of the title "Apda Martu" (Conqueror, or Ravager, of the West) on the bricks of Kudur-Mabuk, was a misreading of Adda (lord) for Apda (conqueror). Compare Tomkins's *Times of Abraham*, pp. 175-181; Rawlinson's *Five Great Mon.*, I., 161-163, 176-178; George Smith's translation of the "Early History of Babylonia," in *Rec. of Past*, III., 19. See, also, Bunsen's *Chron. of Bible*, p. 11 *f.*; Rawlinson's *Origin of Nations*, pp. 37-40; Sayce's Art. "Elam," in *Encyc. Brit.*, ninth edition.

"Kedar-el-Ahmar, or 'Kedar the Red,' is, in fact, a famous hero in Arabian tradition, and his history bears no inconsiderable resemblance to the Scripture narrative of Chedor-laomer." (Sir H. Rawlinson, in *Rawlinson's Herodotus*, Vol. I., Essay VI., § 5, note 1.) See also, on this, Lenormant and Chevallier's *Anc. Hist. of East*, II., 146.

[2] "He [Kedor-la'omer] is the forerunner and prototype of all those great Oriental

nothing of the events which led toward it, but mentions the fact of it incidentally, in giving the record of an attempt by the Canaanites to throw off the yoke of vassalage, and of the part performed by Abraham in aiding his kinsman Lot[1] against the power of the oppressor, when the latter came westward to re-forge the chains of bondage.[2]

An immediate gain of Kedor-la'omer's then unparalleled scheme of conquest was the control of the one great highway of travel and

conquerors who from time to time have built up vast empires in Asia out of heterogeneous materials, which have in a larger or a shorter space successively crumbled to decay. At a time when the kings of Egypt had never ventured beyond their borders, unless it were for a foray in Ethiopia, and when in Asia no monarch had held dominion over more than a few petty tribes, and a few hundred miles of territory, he conceived the magnificent notion of binding into one the manifold nations inhabiting the vast tract which lies between the Zagros mountain-range and the Mediterranean. Lord by inheritance (as we may presume) of Elam and Chaldea or Babylonia, he was not content with these ample tracts, but, coveting more, proceeded boldly on a career of conquest up the Euphrates valley, and through Syria, into Palestine. Successful here, he governed, for twelve years, dominions extending near a thousand miles from east to west, and from north to south probably not much short of five hundred." (Rawlinson's *Five Great Mon.*, I., 177.)

[1] Gen. 14: 12-16. "It is indeed true that affection for Lot may have been the *motive*, and his deliverance from captivity the *object*, of Abram's expedition. But both this and his victory had a higher meaning when viewed objectively and in their bearing upon history. It is not the purpose of the narrative to exalt Abram, but to show the wonderful leadings of God towards his elect, by which everything is brought into immediate relation to the divine plan." (Kurtz's *Hist. of Old Cov.*, I., 217.)

[2] "The imperial power of Asia had already extended as far as Canaan, and had subdued the valley of the Jordan, no doubt with the intention of holding the Jordan valley as the high-road to Egypt. We have here a prelude of the future assault of the worldly power upon the kingdom of God established in Canaan; and the importance of this event to sacred history consists in the fact, that the kings of the valley of the Jordan submitted to the worldly power, whilst Abram, on the contrary, with his home-born servants, smote the conquerors and rescued their booty—a prophetic sign that in the conflict with the power of the world the seed of Abram would not only not be subdued, but would be able to rescue from destruction those who appealed to it for aid." (Keil and Delitzsch's *Bib. Com.* at Gen. 14: 1-12.)

commerce between the East and the West.[1] In the very nature of things, from the formation of the earth's surface, that little belt of land between the Mediterranean and the Jordan, hedged in by mountain and desert and sea, was, and must continue to be, the one passable isthmus between Asia and Africa and Europe. From the earliest dispersion of the families of men, the Land of Canaan has been in a sense a geographical centre of the world's interest; and rival forces have never ceased to contend for the possession of the great thoroughfare which the immediate region of that land practically controls. The building of the Suez Canal, in our own day, is but an effort to secure in another way what Kedor-la'omer sought by the subjugation of the peoples and tribes on either side of the Jordan.[2]

And the keeping open of that highway—continuing its control by his subjects and tributaries—was vital to the supremacy of the great Eastern conqueror.[3] When, therefore, after twelve years,

[1] The reference in Joshua 7: 21 to the "goodly Babylonish garment"—"a choice robe of Shinar"—among the spoils of Jericho, is an indication of the traffic in that day between Shinar and Canaan.

[2] "The true reason [of Kedor-la'omer's campaign] cannot be doubtful, when we remember of what importance that extensive valley [of the Jordan] was at all times, in regard to the intercourse of tribes with one another. It always formed (comp. Strabo XVI. 4, 18 *f.*) the road marked out by nature itself, which, from the Ælanitic gulf, divides the boundless wilderness watered by the Nile and Euphrates; the medium of intercourse between Arabia and Damascus. . . . To have dominion over the whole of this important locality must have appeared of the greatest consequence. . . . By this occupation Arabia in particular, with its choice productions (comp. Ezek. 27: 19 *ff.*), was completely enclosed; and all commerce with the southern coast, and the bazaars in Western and Eastern Asia, came into the hands of one and the same power; which was a sufficient reason for procuring these advantages by conquest, and for maintaining them against revolt, by the putting forth of force." (Tuch's "Remarks on Gen. XIV.," in *Jour. of Sac. Lit.*, July, 1848, p. 82.)

[3] "In fact they [of the Pentapolis] commanded the great route of Arabian commerce, and enriched themselves with the wealth which the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, the Babylonians and Elamites valued so highly. Doubtless many a rich caravan of 'Midianite merchantmen,' with 'spicery and balm and myrrh' [Gen.

there was a general revolt against Kedor-la'omer's authority by the dwellers in the five Cities of the Plain, it became necessary for him to make a personal campaign for their re-subjugation and punishment. It is in this campaign that Kadesh first appears in history.

2. KEDOR-LA'OMER'S ROUTE.

It is probable, indeed it may be said to be certain, that the route of Kedor-la'omer toward Canaan was up along the eastern bank of the Euphrates to Syria, and thence down by Damascus; for this was the only practicable military road from Elam to Syria. The great Arabian desert was, and ever has been, impassable for such an army as his.[1] From Damascus he moved down on the east of the Jordan and of the great mountain range east of the Dead Sea. And he and his allies, as they went along this route, "smote the Rephaim in Ashteroth Karnaim, and the Zuzim in Ham, and the Emim in the plain of Kiriathaim, and the Horites in their mount Seir, unto El-Paran, which is by the wilderness."[2]

37: 25], many a long train of Amu with their bales of rich clothing, and cosmetics, and metals, would pass within reach of those Canaanite lords, who must not be allowed to levy their blackmail for their own independent profit." (Tomkins's *Times of Abraham*, p. 182.)

[1] A careful study of the route of Kedor-la'omer was first made, in modern times, by Prof. Tuch, of Leipzig. It was published under the title "Bemerkungen zu Genesis XIV.," in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, and an English translation of it, by Dr. Samuel Davidson, appeared in Kitto's *Journal of Sacred Literature* for July, 1848. A more recent and an admirable study of the same subject, in the light of later discoveries, is to be found in the Rev. Henry George Tomkins's *Studies in the Times of Abraham*.

[2] Gen. 14: 5, 6. "Drawing together the contingents of the different states in Babylonia, Kedor-la'omer would pass up the Euphrates, cross the Khabour, perhaps at Arban (ancient Sidikan), the Belik near Kharran, the Euphrates at Carchemish, and so [onward], . . . passing Aleppo, Hamath, and Emesa (where, perhaps, already the sons of Kheth were entrenched in their lake fortress). The further march is indicated in the biblical narrative, if we take for granted (which we may well do) that

This description covers the regions of Bashan and Moab and Edom, and the entrance between the lower mountains of Seir and the Ælanitic Gulf, or Gulf of 'Aqabah, into the Wilderness of Paran, or the central desert of the Sinaitic Peninsula.[1]

It has been common to suppose that "El-Paran, which is by the wilderness," was Aileh, or "Eloth, on the shore [or, 'the lip'] of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom;"[2] because just *there* was a gateway of the great route between Arabia and Egypt and Syria.[3] But it would seem more probable, that this plantation, or grove,

the army returned over the same ground, excepting where the contrary is stated; Kedor-la'omer then doubtless received the homage and tribute of the ruler of Damascus; but instead of pouring down the valley of the Jordan in a direct course to the revolted cities, he first cut off their supports, and completely cleared his flanks by an extended campaign; for, sweeping all the highland plateau to the east of Jordan, and following the great ancient course of commerce where now the Hadj road goes down into Arabia, he chastised and disabled the old world tribes who had evidently shared in the rebellion." (Tomkins's *Studies*, as above, p. 185.)

[1] For added facts and suggestions as to this route, and as to various proposed identifications along its course, see Davidson's translation of Tuch, and Tomkins's *Studies*, as above; Rawlinson's *Five Great Mon.*, I., 177; Keil and Delitzsch's *Bib. Com.* at Gen. 14: 1-12; *Schaff-Lange Com.*, *Speaker's Com.*, and *Murphy's Com.* in loco; also Wetzstein's *Reisebericht über Hauran u. d. Trachonen*, pp. 108-113; Porter's *Giant Cities*, pp. 43, 68, 84 *f.*; Merrill's *East of Jordan*, pp. 328-330; Oliphant's *Land of Gilead*, pp. 94-100.

[2] 1 Kings 9: 26, and "margin."

[3] "The more surely we must understand with the Septuagint and Peshitto אֵיל *el* (as in Gen. 35: 4 and Judges 6: 11, 19) to be a plantation of terebinth, the more easily can we consider ourselves justified in referring that name to an oasis situated, on any view of the subject, to the west of the Edomite mountains. . . . On closer examination, it cannot admit of a doubt that El-Paran is identical with *Elath*-Aileh, 'on the shore of the Red Sea' (1 Kings 9: 26), manifestly at the extreme end of Wadi Arabah." (Tuch, as above, p. 8[illegible].)

But Wilton (*The Negeb* p. 196) has shown that *el*, meaning "the strong," applies to the strong tree of the particular region, whether palm, terebinth, tamarisk, or oak. Hence it is fair to consider "El-Paran" as the grove, or oasis, which was the exhibit and type of the strength of the wilderness.

See Burton and Drake's *Unexplored Syria* (note at p. 68, Vol. I.), as to the use of "alah (eloth and elath)" for the terebinth tree or groves. Forster (*Geog. of Arabia*,

or oasis, of Paran, "which is upon[1] the wilderness," was the one oasis which is in mid-desert on the great highway across the Wilderness of Paran; known in later times as "Qala'at Nukhl,"[2] or "Callah Nahhar,"[3] or "Bathn-Nakhl,"[4] or, more commonly, "Castle Nakhl." It is there that the great desert roads centre; and it is at that point that a turn northward would naturally be made; that indeed a turn northward must be made in following the road Canaanward.

And from the Wilderness of Paran "they returned;"[5] that is, they went back northward; but clearly not by the way they had come, for their work in Canaan was yet to be done. They "came to En-mishpat, which is Kadesh, and smote all the country [the field] of the Amalekites, and also the Amorites that dwelt in

p. 34), with his wonted fancifulness, would find in Elana a vestige of "Elon the Hittite," whose daughter was a wife of Esau.

[1] The Hebrew word here is *'al* (עַל), "upon." They were not upon the Wilderness of Paran until they ascended westward from the 'Arabah.

[2] See Thevenot's *Reisen*, Part I., Book II., Chap. 17; Burckhardt's *Trav. in Syria*, p. 450; Map in Lepsius's *Denkmäler*, Abth. I.; Stewart's *Tent and Khan*, p. 173 *ff.*; Palmer's *Des. of Exod.*, II., 287, 327 *ff.*, and Map; etc.

[3] See Shaw's *Travels*, p. 477.

[4] See quotation from Hajj Chalfa's Itinerary, in Ritter's *Geog. of Pal.*, I., 42. Bonar (*Desert of Sinai*, p. 383) calls attention to this designation of Chalfa's, as repeated by Wellsted (*Travels*, II., 458), and suggests that *Butm* may have been intended here, instead of *Batn*. *Butm* is shown by Robinson (*Bib. Res.*, III., 15, first edition) to have been the *terebinth*.

By a comparison of the authorities here quoted, it will be seen that this oasis of Nakhl has been variously understood as meaning the Castle of Palms, the Valley of Palms, the Castle of the Wady, and the Terebinth-Vale; yet without any purpose, on the part of any traveler, of identifying its site with the Palm Grove, or Terebinth Plantation of Paran. Any looking for traces of the ancient *name* in the later one is, however, quite apart from the geographical probabilities in favor of the oasis of Nakhl being the *site* of the oasis which was upon the Wilderness of Paran, and which was the southwesternmost stretch of the march of Kedor-la'omer.

[5] Gen. 14: 7. The Hebrew word used here indicates an abrupt turn in another direction; not necessarily a return. The word is treated in a note farther on. See Index, *s. v.* "Turn."

Hazezon-tamar," "which is En-gedi,"[1] near the west shore of the Dead Sea. All this was prior to a severe battle in the Vale of Siddim, or the Plain of the Dead Sea,[2] with the five kings of the Cities of the Plain.[3] What was their route from the Wilderness of Paran to the Plain of the Dead Sea? The settlement of this question is an important step toward the locating of Kadesh.

The choice of routes in that country was, and is, but limited. "We must bear in mind," says Palmer,[4] "that roads in such regions as this are determined by certain physical conditions." It is practically certain, therefore, that the invading army either turned directly up the 'Arabah, or swept across the desert at the south of the 'Azâzimeh mountain tract, and, at Nakhl, turned northward westerly of Jebel 'Arâeef en-Nâqah. Robinson says[5] emphatically on this point: "The whole district adjacent to the 'Arabah, north of Jebel 'Arâif and el-Mukrâh, .. is mountainous; and is composed . . . of steep ridges running mostly from east to west, and presenting almost insuperable obstacles to the passage of a road parallel to the 'Arabah. In consequence, no great route now leads, or ever has led, through this district; but the roads from 'Akabah, which ascend from Wady el-'Arabah and in any degree touch the high plateau of the desert south of el-Mukrâh, must necessarily curve to the west, and passing around the base of Jebel 'Arâif el-Nâkah, continue along the western side of this mountainous tract."

To have entered Canaan by way of any of the mountain passes at the west of the upper 'Arabah, would have been next to impossible for such an army as Kedor-la'omer's;[6] especially if, as we

[1] 2 Chron. 20: 2. [2] Gen. 14: 3. [3] Gen. 14: 8–12.

[4] *Des. of Exod.*, II., 511. [5] *Bib. Res.*, I., 186 *f.*

[6] For the difficulties of these passes, see the testimony of Seetzen, Schubert, Robinson, and Williams, and the added historical facts, collated by Tuch, in *Jour. of Sac. Lit.*, July, 1848, p. 93. See, also, Lord Lindsay's *Letters on Holy Land*, II., 46; Olin's *Travels*, II., 60; Durbin's *Observ. in East*, I., 200; Wilson's *Lands of Bible*, I., 340; Stanley's *Sinai and Pal.*, p. 99.

may fairly suppose, that army came with the war chariots which, according to Egyptian, Chaldean, and Assyrian records, played so important a part in the early military movements of Africa and Asia.[1] Those passes were certainly not to be compared, for ease of travel, with the great highway of commerce at the south and west of the 'Azâzimeh mountains.

The probability of an ancient road running diagonally across the 'Azâzimeh mountains from the 'Arabah, was suggested by Wilton (*The Negeb*, p. 175 *ff.*); and the remains of a Roman road in that direction were discovered by Palmer (see *Des. of Exod.*, II., 421 *ff.*); but as this road runs into the other at Abdeh (Eboda) near the western side of the mountain plateau, and is thenceforward identical with it northward, its discussion is not essential to the settlement of this question. (For the line of this diagonal road, see Zimmermann's *Karte von Syr. u. Pal.*, Sect. X.)

[1] See Gen. 41: 43; 46: 29; 50: 9; Exod. 14: 7 *ff.*; Josh. 11: 4, 6, 9; 17: 16; Judges 4: 3. "And Elam bare the quiver with chariots of men and horsemen," says the prophet, in foreseeing another visit of the people of that land to the land of Palestine (Isa. 22: 6).

Egyptian *inscriptions* antedate those of Chaldea and Assyria; but, as is indicated in the enterprise of Kedor-la'omer, the East was clearly in advance of Egypt in the art and equipments of warfare. The earliest mention, on the monuments, of the horse in Egypt, is in the Inscription of Aahmes (*Rec. of Past*, IV., 5–8), which tells of the capture of "a horse and a chariot" in Ethiopia, in the days of Thotmes I. of the Eighteenth Dynasty, who himself employed horses and chariots in Mesopotamia. But the horse is here designated by its Semitic name "soos" (Ebers's *Pict. Egypt*, II., 249; and Philip Smith's note in Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 288). The chariot-driver is also known by the Semitic name "kazan" (Brugsch, as above, I., 342); and the inference is legitimate, that the horse and chariot were originally brought from the East. Indeed, it is generally agreed by Egyptologists that "the horse had been introduced into Egypt by the Hykshos" some time before its first appearance on the monuments. (See Ebers and Brugsch, as above; Wilkinson's *Anc. Egyptians*, I., 236 *f.*, and Birch's note; Villiers Stuart's *Nile Gleanings*, p. 296; Wilson's *Egypt of the Past*, p. 38; also, Philip Smith's *Anc. Hist. of East*, pp. 84–89; and Houghton's *Natural Hist. of Ancients*, pp. 84–89.) Ebers even notes the Thirteenth Dynasty as the period of the introduction of the horse, although he proffers no direct proof of this fact (*Pict. Egypt*, II., 99). Canon Cook (*Speaker's Com.*, Append. to Exod.) says: "It is very probable that horses were first introduced under the Twelfth Dynasty, after the reign of Osirtasin." If, then, the Hykshos introduced horses and chariots into Egypt from Asia, doubtless there were horses and chariots in use in Asia before the Hykshos went to Egypt; and that carries us back to as early a

Moreover, if Kedor-la'omer had reached the shores of the Dead Sea from the south and east, he would have come to the Vale of Siddim, "which is [or, is at] the Salt Sea,"[1] and would there have given battle to the kings of the Pentapolis, without passing through the country—or the field—of the Amalekites, and the region of the Amorites, as the sacred narrative assures us was the case.[2] This "field" of the Amalekites was, probably, the country afterwards possessed by the Amalekites,[3] on the southern border of the

date as Kedor-la'omer's. The conclusion is therefore well-nigh inevitable, that such an expedition as Kedor-la'omer's into Canaan was not undertaken without this agency of warfare. M. Piétrement (*Origines du Cheval Domestique* p. 455,) affirms that the horse was introduced into western Europe, from the East, as early as 9,600 years before the Christian era. *That* certainly was prior to Kedor-la'omer's day.

It is worthy of note, that the Septuagint renders רְכֻשׁ *rekhush*, in Gen. 14: 11, 16, 21, by *τὴν ἵππον*, *ten hippon*, "the horse," or "the cavalry."

[1] Gen. 14: 3.

Whether the Vale of Siddim and the Cities of the Plain were at the southern end or at the northern end of the Dead Sea, is a disputed question. The strongest arguments in favor of the northerly site are presented by Grove in *Smith's Bible Dictionary*, under the various heads "Siddim, the Vale of," "Sea, the Salt," and "Sodom," and by Tristram, in his *Land of Israel* (pp. 361-367). In favor of the former generally accepted site at the southern end of the Sea, the best presentation is made by Robinson, in his *Biblical Researches* (II., p. 187-192), and by Wolcott, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January, 1868 (Article, "The Site of Sodom"), and again in the latter's notes on Grove's articles, in the American edition of *Smith's Bible Dictionary*. But whichever view of this question be accepted, the argument concerning Kedor-la'omer's route remains the same. As Wolcott says on that point: "The northern invaders, after making the distant circuit of the valley on the east and south, came up on the west, and smote Engedi and secured that pass. The cities and their kings were in the deep valley below, whether north or south or opposite is wholly immaterial, as far as we can discover, in relation either to the previous route of conquest, or to the subsequent topographical sequence of the story."

[2] Gen. 14: 7, 8.

[3] כָּל־שְׂדֵה הָעֲמָלֵקִי (*kol sedheh ha'-Amaleqee*), "all the field of the Amalekites." It is not said here that the *Amalekites* were smitten, but that their *field*—the region which subsequently became theirs—was now swept over. As Amalek was a grandson of Esau (Gen. 36: 10-12), and there is no mention in the Bible of Amalekites as

mountains of Judah;[1] and the Amorites of En-gedi[2] were between that and the Dead Sea plains. The indications of the Scripture narrative, therefore, are, that Kedor-la'omer's northward route from the Wilderness of Paran toward the Dead Sea included the great caravan route which passes up from the mid-desert by way of Beer-sheba; the route which is spoken of as "the Way of Shur" —or the road through Canaan to Egypt known as the Shur Road;[3] and it follows that "En-mishpat, which is Kadesh," is to be located on that road or convenient to it, at some point between the Wilderness of Paran and the southern border of Canaan—where was the field of the Amalekites.[4]

an existing people before his day, we may take this reference to them as by anticipation. Tremellius and Junius, in their Genevan Bible, render this passage: "*Incolas agri, qui nunc est Hamalekitorum;*" "Inhabitants of the field which now is of the Amalekites." This view of the passage is taken by Clarius, and Münster, as cited in *Crit. Sac.*; and by Lyra, Malvenda, Menochius, and Fischer, as cited in Pool's *Synops. Crit.* in loco; also by Bush (*Notes on Gen.* in loco); Keil and Delitzsch (*Bib. Com.* in loco); Hengstenberg (*Auth. of Pent.*, II., 279 *ff.*); De Sola, Lidenthal, and Raphall's Translation, *in loco; Schaff-Lange Com.*, and *Speaker's Com.*, at Gen. 36: 12; Murphy's *Com. on Gen.* (at 14: 7 and 36: 12); Kurtz in *Hist. of Old Cov.*, III., 42 *ff.;* Fairbairn's *Imp. Bib. Dic.*, and *Alexander's Kitto* s. v. "Amalekites;" Sayce, in The Queen's Printers' *Aids to Student of Bible*, p. 62; and others.

Arabic historians claim that there was an Amalek in the fifth generation from Noah, in the line of Ham; and that his descendants were the early people of Canaan. For references to this tradition, see Abulfeda's *Hist. Anteislam.*, pp. 16, 178; Reland's *Palaestina*, Book I., Cap. 14; Winer's *Bibl. Realwörterb.*, s. v. "Amalekiter;" Lenormant and Chevallier's *Anc. Hist. of East*, II., 145, 288–291, etc. Winer, and Lenormant and Chevallier (as above), Bevan (*Smith-Hackett Bib. Dic.*, s. v. "Amalekites,") Ewald (*Hist. of Israel*, I., 108 *f.*, 248–254; II., 43 *f.*), Von Gerlach (*Com. on Pent.*, at Gen. 14: 7), and others, have followed the Arabic tradition in counting the Amalekites named in Genesis 14: 7 as of an older stock than Esau. But the Arabic traditions have little or no value for the days of the Old Testament, save as they conform to that source of history. (See a reference to Nöldeke on this point in *Speaker's Com.*, at Gen. 36: 12.)

[1] Num. 13: 29. [2] 2 Chron. 20: 2.

[3] Gen. 16: 7; 46: 5–7; 1 Sam. 27: 8.

[4] See Fries's "Ueber die Lage von Kades," in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1854, p. 6.

3. A STRATEGIC HALTING-PLACE.

Indeed, what more probable halting-place would there be in this entire region for an invading army which came to take possession of the great highways of travel, than the spot where all the roads from east, west, north, and south come together into a common trunk—if such a place there be? That there is a place answering to this description was first pointed out by Robinson, as already referred to, and his impressions have been verified by subsequent travelers. Coming from Sinai to Palestine by the eastern route ("the Way of Mount Seir;"[1] or, the Mount Seir Road) Robinson was enabled, after rounding Jebel 'Arâcef en-Nâqah, from the Wilderness of Paran, "to perceive the reason why all the roads leading across it [the desert] from 'Akabah, and from the convent [at Mount Sinai] to Hebron and Gaza, should *meet together in one main trunk* in the middle of the desert."[2] The reason is, that the whole face of the region, which is the same now as in the days of Kedor-la'omer, renders this inevitable.[3] Proceeding along this inevitable highway to a plain above Wady Aboo Retemât, called Wady es-Serâm, eastward of Jebel el-Helâl, and not far from Jebel Muwaylih, Robinson found that here "comes in the great western road from the convent of Sinai to Gaza," joining those already combined; and that, therefore, at this point "all the roads across the desert [including, of course, the midland road from Egypt] were *now combined into one main trunk.*"[4] A military chieftain as enterprising as Kedor-la'omer would not be likely to overlook such a strategic point as *that*, when conducting a campaign for the purpose of road-seizing. He would naturally halt there, and guard himself against surprises from flank or rear, and also reconnoitre in advance before moving forward to his main

[1] Deut. 1:2.

[2] *Bib. Res.*, I., 186.

[3] See page 38, *supra*.

[4] *Bib. Res.* I., 189–191.

attack in Canaan. In this immediate vicinity, therefore, "En-mishpat, which is Kadesh,"[1] should be looked for, so far as we can judge from the Bible story of Kedor-la'omer.

This first mention of Kadesh refers to a period four centuries prior to the exodus. It is probable that the name "Kadesh" is here used by the writer of Genesis as the name by which the place was known after its occupancy by the tabernacle. An earlier name of this place might seem, from this text, to have been En-mishpat—the Fountain of Judgment;[2] but even that name may have attached to it after formal judgment had been there passed on rebellious Israel, and on both Israel's leader and Israel's high-priest.[3] It is thought by some,[4] that long before the days of Moses, this place "was a sanctuary upon an oasis in the desert, in whose still solitude an oracle had its seat;" and that "as from Egypt pilgrimages were made to the near oracle of Ammon in the desert, so from Edom and other adjacent districts many oracle seekers, in the most ancient times . . . came to Kadesh," "in order to know the decisions of the gods." But of this there is no proof. It is, at the best, only an inference from the name given it in its first Bible mention.[5]

[1] Gen. 14: 7.

[2] This view is taken by Grotius, and Fagius, as cited in *Crit. Sac.;* by the *Speaker's Com.;* Kalisch's *Com.;* all *in loco;* also by Ewald (*Hist. of Israel*, II., 193); Ritter (*Geog. of Pal.*, I., 428); Stanley (*Hist. of Jewish Ch.*, I., 202); and others.

[3] So think: Jerome (*Com. on Genesis*); "Rashi" (*'al ha-Torah*); Tremellius and Junius (*Genevan Bible*); Patrick (*Crit. Com.*); Menochius, Fischer, à Lapide, and Bonfrerius, as cited in Pool's *Synops. Crit.*; Bush (*Notes on Gen.*); all *in loco;* and many others.

"Rashi" is wrongly cited by Grotius, as deeming the name En-mishpat the earlier one; and this misquotation is perpetuated through the *Critici Sacri*, the *Synopsis Criticorum*, and later works, after the common mistake of failing to verify quotations by a reference to the original.

[4] See Ewald, Ritter, and Stanley, as above.

[5] In the Targum of Onkelos (*in loco*), En-mishpat is paraphrased, *maisher peloog deena* (מֵישַׁר פְּלוּג דִּינָא), "Plain of Division of Judgment." This paraphrase is

4. THE WILDERNESS OF THE WALL.

Kadesh next appears in the Bible text as an apparently well-known landmark eastward, or possibly northward, as over against "Bered" and "Shur" on the west, or south. Hagar had fled from the Hebron home of Abraham, down along the caravan road toward Egypt. She had rested by a prominent watering-place of that route—"*the* fountain in the Way of Shur."[1] The location of that fountain is described as "between Kadesh and Bered."[2] Again, Abraham moved down from Hebron through the Negeb, desertward; and he sojourned at a point "between Kadesh and Shur;"[3] also "at Gerar," which, again, may have been the point indicated as "between Kadesh and Shur."

Shur is subsequently referred to in the text as "before Egypt, as thou goest toward Assyria;"[4] and again as "over against Egypt;"[5] and as "even unto the land of Egypt."[6] "Before Egypt," here, clearly means "in the face of" Egypt, *east* of Egypt.[7] "As thou goest to Assyria" means one of two things:

understood by "Rashi" as indicating the opinion of Onkelos that here was a seat of judgment for the surrounding peoples. Rashi's elaboration of the simple statement by Onkelos, with which Rashi disagrees, is cited by Grotius, and farther elaborated by the fanciful Ewald; to be adopted and re-elaborated by Stanley and others.

[1] Gen. 16: 7.

"The spot by which 'the angel of the Lord found' Hagar was not merely '*a* fountain of water,' as we read in our version, but a well-known spot, '*the* spring' of water in the wilderness—'*the* spring in the way of Shur.'" (Stanley's *Sinai and Pal.*, p. 477.)

[2] Gen. 16: 14. [3] Gen. 20: 1. [4] Gen. 25: 18. [5] 1 Sam. 15: 7. [6] 1 Sam. 27: 8.

[7] "The points of the compass were marked by the Jews after the following manner: With the face turned to the rising of the sun, *before* is east; *behind* [or "back-side" (Exod. 3: 1), see Gesenius's *Heb. Lex.* s. v. "Achor"] is west; the *right-hand* is the south; the *left-hand* the north. . . . Theman and Jamin [Yemen], denoting the south, means lying on the right hand." (Von Raumer's *Palästina*, p. 20.)

On this subject of orientation see Michaelis's *Dissertatio de Locorum Differentia.* Egyptian and Assyrian orientation differed, however, from the Hebrew.

either, in the direction of Assyria; that is, northeastward; or, more probably, on the highway to Assyria; that is, by way of Damascus. The only feasible highway from Egypt to Assyria, was and is, northward through Syria, and thence southeasterly through Mesopotamia; never across the trackless Arabian desert.[1] "Shur" means "a wall;" and from its meaning, as well as from the various references to it in the text, it would seem clear that Shur was a wall, or barrier, of some kind, across the great northeastern highways out of Egypt, and this at a point on or near the eastern boundary line of Egypt.

A favorite identification of Shur has been in a range of mountains a little to the eastward from the Gulf of Suez, having the appearance of a wall, and bearing the name Jebel er-Râhah, being in fact the northwestern end, or extension, of Jebel et-Teeh.[2] "As

[1] See page 35, *supra*.

There seems hardly room for doubt on this point. The physical structure of the region, and all history, biblical and extra-biblical, tends to its proof. Yet Mr. J. Baker Greene, in his nondescript work, *The Hebrew Migration from Egypt* (p. 168, note), says of this reference to Shur in Genesis 25: 18: "This passage is somewhat ambiguous. It means, as is most probable, that a traveler from Judea to Assyria would descend the Araba [! !], and thus have on his right hand, between him and Egypt, the plateau of Et Tîh, known as the *midbhar* of Shur. If the traveler cross the Jordan on his way to Assyria, this reference to Shur and Egypt is unintelligible." And this remarkable statement is a fair illustration of the confused jumbling of that entire work, in its dealings with geography, history, and philology.

[2] "Some twelve or fourteen miles from the coast, and parallel to it, runs Jebel er-Râhah, appearing in the distance as a long, flat-headed range of white cliffs, which forms, as it were, a wall inclosing the desert on the north. Hence probably arose the name of the 'Wilderness of Shur' (Exod. 15: 22); for the meaning of the name Shur is 'a wall.'" (F. W. Holland, in *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 527.)

This view is accepted by Porter, in *Alexander's Kitto*, Art. "Wandering, Wilderness of;" Bartlett, in his *From Egypt to Palestine*, p. 186; by the Editor of the Queen's Printers' *Aids to the Student of the Holy Bible*, p. 28; and others.

Rowlands reports the name "Jebel es-Sûr" as still given by the Arabs to this mountain range (see Williams's *Holy City*, p. 489, and *Imp. Bib. Dic.*, s. v. "Shur"). He is followed in this by Wilton (*The Negeb*, p. 6); Tuch (*Jour. of Sac. Lit.* for

we stand at 'Ayún Músa," says Palmer,[1] "and glance over the desert at the Jebels er-Ráhah and et-Tih, which border the gleaming plain, we at once appreciate the fact that these long wall-like escarpments are the chief, if not the only, prominent characteristics of this portion of the wilderness, and we need not wonder that the Israelites should have named this memorable spot after its most salient feature, the wilderness of Shur, or the wall." But a prime objection to this identification is, that Jebel er-Râhah does not stand "before Egypt, as thou goest toward Assyria." It is too far south for that. A "wall," better meeting the requirements of the text than this mountain range, is to be looked for; nor will a search for it be in vain.[2]

Inasmuch as there was a great defensive Wall built across the eastern frontier of Egypt, "as thou goest toward Assyria;" a Wall that was hardly less prominent in the history of ancient Egypt than has been the Great Wall of China in the history of the "Middle Kingdom;" it would seem the most natural thing in the world, to suppose that the biblical mentions of the Wall "that is before Egypt," had reference to—the Wall that was before Egypt.

The earliest discovered mention of this Wall is in an ancient papyrus of the Twelfth Dynasty (of the old[3] Egyptian empire,

July, 1848, p. 89); Stewart (*Tent and Khan*, p. 54); Faussett (*Bib. Cyc.*, s. v. "Shur"); Burton (*Gold Mines of Mid.*, p. 101); and others. Yet this mountain may take its name *from* the wilderness, instead of giving a name to it,—if in fact the name is to be found there. Laborde, indeed, applies the name "Djebel Soar" to a mountain peak still eastward of the Râhah range (see Map in his *Voyage de l' Arabie Pétrée.*)

[1] *Des. of Exod.*, I., 38 *f.*

[2] Others, again, have counted Shur as the name of a town on the Egyptian borders, toward Arabia. So, *e. g.*, Ewald (*Hist. of Israel*, II., 194, note); Kurtz (*Hist. of Old Cov.*, III., 18); R. S. Pool (*Smith-Hackett Bib. Dic.*, s. v. "Shur"); and others.

[3] The terms Old Empire, and Middle Empire, and New Empire are employed differently by different writers. Lepsius, Bunsen, Ebers, Chabas and others speak of all the dynasties which preceded the Hykshos kings, as the Old Empire. Wilkinson,

prior to the days of the Hykshos invasion), which was obtained by Lepsius for the Museum of Berlin. This papyrus gives the story of Sineh, or Saneha, an Egyptian traveler into the lands eastward from Egypt. As he journeyed, he came to the frontier Wall "which the king had made to keep off the Sakti," or eastern foreigners. It was a closely guarded barrier. There were "watchers upon the Wall in daily rotation." Eluding the sentries in the darkness of the night, he wandered beyond in a dry and thirsty land, like that which the Hebrews found in that same Wilderness of the Wall several centuries after him, when their cry was, "What shall we drink?"[1] His story was:

"Thirst overtook me in my journey;
My throat was parched,
I said, This is the taste of death."[2]

Chabas[3] understands the term "Anbu," which is here rendered the Wall, and which is of frequent recurrence in the Egyptian records, to refer to a defensive Wall[4] built across the eastern front of Lower Egypt by the first king of the Twelfth Dynasty—Amenemhat I. And Ebers[5] coincides fully with Chabas in this understanding.

Again in one of the Anastasi Papyri, of the Nineteenth Dynasty, preserved in the British Museum, this Wall is mentioned in the report from a scribe of an effort to re-capture two fugitive slaves who had fled towards the eastern desert; and who, before he could

Birch, Brugsch, Rawlinson, Mariette, and others, put the beginning of the Middle Empire at an earlier period than the Hykshos domination. Hence the Twelfth Dynasty would by some be counted in the Old Empire; by others, in the Middle Empire.

[1] Exod. 15: 22–24.

[2] Goodwin's translation in *Rec. of Past*, VI., 136. See also Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 147. The papyrus itself is given in *fac-simile* in Lepsius's *Denkmäler*, Abth. VI., Bl. 104.

[3] *Études sur l'Antique Histoire*, p. 99 *ff*.

[4] "*La muraille defensive.*"

[5] *Ægypt. u. d. Büch. Mose's*, pp. 78–85.

overtake them, had already "got beyond the region of the Wall to the north of the migdol of king Seti Mineptah."[1]

In explanation of the term Wall as found in this papyrus, Brugsch says that there was at that time "at the entrance of the road leading to Palestine, near the Lake Sirbonis, a small fortification, to which, as early as the time of the Nineteenth Dynasty, the Egyptians gave the name Anbu, that is 'the wall,' or 'fence,' a name which the Greeks translated according to their custom, calling it Gerrhon (τὸ Γέῤῥον), or in the plural Gerrha (τὰ Γέῤῥα). The Hebrews likewise rendered the meaning of the Egyptian name by a translation, designating the military post on the Egyptian frontier by the name of 'Shur,' which in their language signifies exactly the same as the word 'Anbu' in Egyptian, and the word 'Gerrhon' in Greek, namely the 'Wall.'"[2]

That the "Wall" of the Egyptian frontier was not limited to a single small fortress near the Lake Serbonis, as would seem to be intimated in this explanation by Brugsch, is apparent from his own History, while it is also abundantly evidenced from various other sources.[3] In speaking of Aahmes, or Amasis, the first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Brugsch says that, having driven out the eastern foreigners from Egypt, the king sufficiently protected the eastern frontier of the Low Country against new invasions by *a line of fortresses*.[4] And again, Brugsch refers to the Wall as barring the road out of Egypt desertward, in the days of Amen-

[1] Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 138, 389. [2] *Ibid.* II., 375.

[3] Indeed, the very term "Anbu," which Brugsch gives as the designation of the Wall-fortress, is the *plural* form; its *singular* being "Anb." (See Renouf's *Egyptian Grammar*, pp. 5, 11; also Birch's "Dictionary" in *Egypt's Place in Univ. Hist.*, Vol. V., p. 345.) And Brugsch finds also the *plural* form "Gerrha," in the Greek. A reference to Brugsch's *Dictionnaire Géographique* (p. 52) shows that the ideogram for Anb ("Wall") is accompanied with the determinatives of the plural; and his translation of it there (where it does not affect his theory of the exodus) is in the plural, "*les murailles*."

[4] Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 320.

emhat I., of the Twelfth Dynasty.[1] One fort could not fairly be called a Wall; nor could it be "a line of fortresses."

As to the period of the original building of this frontier Wall, and as to its precise limits, there has been much confusion among historians; far more than as to the existence of the Wall itself. Diodorus Siculus, writing, nineteen centuries ago, of the wonderful exploits of Sesoösis, or Sesostris (who seems to have been a composition-hero, made up of the facts and legends of the greater Egyptian sovereigns from the earlier to the later days), records that that king "walled the side of Egypt that inclines eastward against Syria and Arabia, from Pelusium to Heliopolis, the length being about fifteen hundred stadia;"[2] say one hundred and eighty-four English miles. Abulfeda,[3] early in the fourteenth century, gave the Arabic traditions of the building of the Great Wall of Egypt. His Arabic designations of the Pharaohs mentioned (Delukah, Darkon, Ibn-Bekthus, Todas, etc.), do not help to the identifying of the dynasties; but his narrative evidently has to do with the time of the expulsion of the Hykshos kings,—or the "Amalekites" as he calls them,—and the domination of their successors. Of the king Delukah,—"who is called El-'Ajoos," or "The Old Woman,"—Abulfeda says: "And he built before the land of Egypt, from one of its regions at the edge of Aswan, to the other, a Wall contiguous to this end,"—the eastern or Arabian side. It is noteworthy that the Arabic word here used for Wall is "Sura,"[4] an equivalent of the Hebrew "Shur."

From the statement of Diodorus, the Wall would seem to have run from Pelusium to Heliopolis; and this statement has been accepted by most of the modern historians of Egypt. Birch, in

[1] Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 147; also in his *Dict. Geog.*, p. 52.

[2] Ἐτείχισε δὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς νεύουσαν πλευρὰν τῆς Αἰγύπτου πρὸς τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐμβολάς, ἀπὸ Πηλουσίου μέχρισ Ἡλιουπόλεως, διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου, τὸ μῆκος ἐπὶ σταδίους χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους. (*Bibl. Hist.*, I., 57.)

[3] In his *Historia Anteislamica*, p. 102 *f.*

[4] سورا

adopting it, would identify the "Sesoösis" of Diodorus with Rameses II., of whom he says: "On the eastern side of Egypt he finished a great Wall, commenced by his father Seti, from Pelusium to Heliopolis, as a bulwark against the Asiatics."[1]

Graetz[2] and Rawlinson[3] also accept the Wall limits as given by Diodorus. But Abulfeda extends the line of Wall very greatly, and Wilkinson seems inclined to a similar view, which he would sustain out of the facts of his own observing. He says explicitly: "That such a Wall was actually made by one of the Egyptian monarchs, we have positive proof from the vestiges which remain in different parts of the valley. It was not *confined* to Lower Egypt, or to the east of the Delta from Pelusium to Heliopolis, but continued to the Ethiopian frontier at Syene; and though the increase of the alluvial deposit has almost concealed it in the low lands overflowed during the inundation of the waters of the Nile, it is traced in many of the higher parts, especially when founded upon the rocky eminences bordering the river. The modern Egyptians have several idle legends respecting this Wall, some of which ascribe it to a king, or rather to a queen, anxious to prevent an obnoxious stranger from intruding on the retirement of her beautiful daughter: and the name applied to it is Gisr el Agoós, or 'the Old Woman's Dyke.'[4] It is of crude brick: the principal portion that remains may be seen at Gebel e' Tayr, a little below Minyeh; and I have even traced small fragments of the same kind of building on the western side of the valley, particularly in the Fyoom."[5]

Sharpe,[6] on the other hand, referring to Procopius, tells of the remains "of the *Roman Wall*," built in the days of Diocletian as

[1] *Egypt*, p. 125. [2] *Gesch. der Juden*, I., 378–380. [3] *Hist. of Anc. Egypt*, II., 325 *f.*

[4] *Gisr* commonly means "bridge," or "causeway," or "threshold," rather than "dyke," as is shown farther on in this work. See Index, *s. v.* "Gisr."

[5] Wilkinson's *Anc. Egyptians*, I., 71. See also his *Egypt and Thebes*, p. 368.

[6] *Hist. of Egypt*, Chap. XVII., § 39.

a protection against the inroads of troublesome neighbors from the south of Egypt; remains which are still to be seen at the east of the Nile, north of the first cataract. And it is certainly not unfair to suppose that different portions of the Egyptian border were walled at different times against different enemies, and that the remains of any and all of these different walls are liable to be connected in the minds of the Arabs, and even in the minds of intelligent discoverers, with the traditions and history of the Great Wall which was "before Egypt, as thou goest toward Assyria." [1]

Certainly if one were to judge of the natural probabilities of the case, a Wall of this kind built for the protection of Egypt against Eastern invaders would run from the Mediterranean (say at Pelusium, or east of it) to what we now call the Gulf of Suez, rather than directly to a point as far westward as Heliopolis. But the distance named by Diodorus as the length of the Wall is great enough to admit of a wall from Pelusium to the Gulf of Suez (across the Isthmus), and thence onward to Heliopolis; in other words, from Pelusium to Heliopolis, by way of the Gulf. Such a line would doubly fortify the Egyptian frontier. Inasmuch as the Great Canal,[2] built, like the Great Wall, by the ambiguous Sesostris,[3] had its eastern entrance into the Gulf of Suez, with a

[1] Gen. 25: 18.

[2] For facts as to the Great Canal, its route and its building, see "Memoire sur le Canal des deux Mers," in the Napoleonic *Description de l'Egypte*, Vol. I., pp. 21-186; Wilkinson's *Anc. Egyptians*, I., 47-49, 110, with references to Strabo, Pliny, and Aristotle; Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 310-323; Ebers's *Ægypt. u. die Büch. Mose's*, p. 80; Glynn's paper "On the Isthmus of Suez and the Canals of Egypt," with the discussion following it, in *Proceedings of Inst. of Civil Engineers of Great Britain*, Vol. X. (1851), pp. 369-375; Ritt's *Hist. de l'Isthm. de Suez*, pp. 14-41; etc.

[3] The Great Canal was certainly cut as early as the days of Setee I., of the Nineteenth Dynasty; Bunsen (*Egypt's Place in Univ. Hist.*, Vol. II., p. 299) claims that the canal-building was begun as early as the Twelfth Dynasty, by the kings who contributed to the "Sesostris" composition; and Ebers (*Pict. Egypt*, II., 19) says: "From the appearance of fortresses and the Great Wall of Egypt, it is supposed that an old canal existed as early as the Fifth Dynasty."

branch running northerly toward Pelusium, it would be a most unreasonable supposition that the Great Wall was diagonally across the Great Canal, midway of its course; or that the Wall built for the protection of Egypt should leave the Canal, with all its importance as a means of communication and transportation, unprotected, and at the mercy of the enemy against whom the Wall was upreared. Such a reflection on the engineering ability and the military foresight of a people like the ancient Egyptians, is not to be seriously thought of. The Great Wall *must* have touched the head of the Heroöpolitan Gulf at the eastward of the Great Canal, in whatsoever direction it may have run after that.

As to the confusion concerning the period of the original building of the Wall, a plausible explanation at once suggests itself. At least as early as the Twelfth Dynasty—prior to the Hykshos domination—this Wall was erected to guard against incursions from the East. But, during the Hykshos supremacy it was probably leveled to the ground, or suffered to fall into disuse and decay; because it was in the direction of the friends rather than the foes of the ruling power of Egypt.[1] On the expulsion of the Hykshos, however, this Wall would hardly fail to be rebuilt at once, and its defenses strengthened, in order to keep out the dreaded enemies from the East. The rebuilding of the Wall would, as a matter of course, be claimed as its original building. *That* was the way of Egyptian kings.[2]

Another element of confusion, which is also an added explanation of the twofold origin of the Wall, is found in the ambiguity

[1] Yet Manetho, as quoted in Josephus's *Against Apion*, Book I., § 14, tells of a line of defenses erected by a Hykshos king along his eastern border "for fear of an invasion from the Assyrians." This, however, may have been a temporary rebuilding of the before neglected Great Wall.

[2] Thus, for example, the temple of Osiris at Abydos, built by King Usertesen I., of the Twelfth Dynasty, was rebuilt by Setee I. and Rameses II. of the Nineteenth Dynasty, and *their* names are recorded with much boastfulness as its real builders. (See Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 162 *f.*, and II., 27-29.)

attaching to the identity of the king mentioned by Diodorus as its builder. Manetho gives the name of "Sesostris," as a king in the Twelfth Dynasty;[1] yet the Sesostris referred to by Diodorus, and by Greek historians before and after him, has been commonly understood to be Rameses II., with more or less of the added glory of his immediate predecessors. Birch[2] and Brugsch[3] would identify Rameses II. with Sesostris. Villiers Stuart[4] prefers an identification with Rameses III. Lenormant[5] thinks that the story of Sesostris was a growth rather than a history, a traditional composition rather than an individual character; that "a legend gradually formed in the course of ages, attributing to one person all the exploits of the conquerors and warlike princes of Egypt, both of Thothmes and Seti, as well as of the various Rameses, and magnifying these exploits by extending them to every known country, as legends always do." Wilkinson[6] is more specific in a plausible explanation of the confusion over Sesostris. "I . . . . suppose," he says, "that Sesostris was an ancient king famed for his exploits, and the hero of early Egyptian history; but that after Rameses had surpassed them and become the favorite of his country, the renown and name of the former monarch were transferred to the more conspicuous hero of a later age." Bunsen[7] even attempts to show who were the former monarchs whose exploits gave the start to the story of "Sesostris." He would find them in

[1] See "Dynasties of Manetho," quoted in Cory's *Ancient Fragments*, p. 117.

[2] "Sesostris is Rameses II. of the Nineteenth Dynasty." (Birch in Wilkinson's *Anc. Egyptians*, I., 71, note.)

[3] In his *History of Egypt* (II., 35) Brugsch says of Rameses II.: "This is . . . the Sethosis who is also called Ramesses of the Manethonian record, and the renowned legendary conqueror Sesostris of the Greek historians."

[4] "Rameses the Third was also a mighty conqueror, and as he lived nearer the commencement of Greek history, he was better known to the Greeks, and was in fact their Sesostris." (*Nile Gleanings*, p. 243.)

[5] *Anc. Hist. of East*, I., 246.

[6] *Anc. Egyptians*, I., 44.

[7] *Egypt's Place in Univ. Hist.*, Vol. II., pp. 282–304.

"two great kings of the Old Empire:" Amenemhat II. and Usertesen II.; called by Manetho, Sesortosis II. and Sesortosis III. Of the first named of these two kings, Bunsen says: "In Manetho's lists there is this remarkable notice annexed to the second Sesortosis, that 'he is the real Sesostris,' the great conqueror; the lists, indeed, never mention him by any other name." But Bunsen adds, that it is the third Sesortosis whom the monuments represent as the great hero, and to whom succeeding generations paid divine honors as next to Osiris. Moreover, Bunsen refers to a still earlier Egyptian hero, of the Third Dynasty, called Sesostris, by Aristotle. In view of all this confusion over the personality and the period of the hero Sesostris, it cannot be deemed strange that such undertakings as the Great Wall and the Great Canal should be credited to Setee I. and Rameses II., who clearly had something to do with them, when in reality the work on them had been begun by some of the far earlier component elements of the Sesostrian character—which these later kings would fain monopolize.

But apart from all seeming or real discrepancies concerning the date of its building, or the precise direction and extent of its line, the Great Wall itself is an indisputable, positive fact. And that its northern terminus was at or near Pelusium seems equally clear.[1] It is therefore fair to suppose that this frontier fortifying Wall was known to various peoples by their own word for such a Wall ("Anbu," "Shur," "Gerrha," "Sura"), rather than by one proper name accepted alike in all languages. Nor is it unlikely that the northernmost flank-fortress of this Wall was known as the Wall-fortress, by pre-eminence in that direction. Thus Ptolemy[2] makes mention of "Gerrhon horion"[3]—

[1] Ebers (*Ægypt. u. die Büch. Mose's*, pp. 82–84) quotes from Lepsius (*Monatsber. der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Mai*, 1866) to show that the latter found unmistakable ruins of this Wall below Pelusium; and he also shows that traces were found along the line of the Suez Canal, during the cutting of that work.

[2] *Geog.*, Lib. IV., Cap. 5.

[3] Γέῤῥον ὅριον.

the Boundary-Wall—locating it at a short distance eastward of Pelusium.

Josephus seems to have the stretch of the Great Wall in mind when he repeats the story of Saul's triumph over the Amalekites, as given in 1 Samuel 15 : 7 : "And Saul smote the Amalekites from Havilah until thou comest to Shur [the Wall] that is over against Egypt." Josephus, paraphrasing this narration, tells of the time when "Saul had conquered all these Amalekites [up to Shur, or the Wall] that reached from Pelusium of Egypt to the Red Sea."[1] Here Josephus indicates the line of the Wall [called Shur in the Hebrew text] just as the fullest light of the present shows it to have been. Yet, singularly enough, many careful scholars, missing the true meaning of "Shur," have supposed that Josephus would identify Pelusium with Shur, and have accepted this identification accordingly, or have argued against it.[2] There is no more reason, however, for claiming that Josephus identified Pelusium with Shur, than that he identified the Red Sea, or the Gulf of Suez, with Shur. Shur, or the Wall, ran from Pelusium to the Gulf of Suez; and that fact seems to have been recognized by Josephus.[3] It had not been forgotten in his day.

[1] *Antiq.*, Bk. VI., Chap. 7, § 3.

[2] See Michaelis, on Abulfeda's *Tabula Ægypti*, note 141; Gesenius's *Thesaur.*, s. v. "Shur;" Kurtz's *Hist. of Old Cov.*, III., 13; Sharpe's Revision, at Gen. 25: 18; *Speaker's Com.*, and *Schaff-Lange Com.*, at Gen. 16: 7.

[3] A disputed—and at the best an obscure—reading of the Septuagint, at a similar reference to "Shur," in 1 Sam. 27: 8, possibly has some light thrown on it by this view of the Great Wall of Egypt. As we have it in our English version, the Amalekites and others "were of old the inhabitants of the land as thou goest to Shur, even unto the land of Egypt." The critical reading of the Septuagint (as indicated by Tischendorf and others) just here is: *ἀπὸ ἀνηκόντων ἢ ἀπὸ Γελαμψοὺρ τετειχισμένων; apo anekonton he apo Gelampsour teteichismenon;* which gives no clear meaning. But the common reading of the Septuagint is: *ἡ ἀπὸ Γελαμσοὺρ ἀπὸ ἀνηκόντων τετειχισμένων; he apo Gelamsour apo anekonton teteichismenon;* "the [land] from Gelamsour, from the fortifications belonging [or, possibly, reaching] thereto." It would look as if the LXX. had added a gloss, to indicate that the

It would even seem that the very name of ancient Egypt, as given to it by the eastern nations beyond it, may have had a reference to the Great Wall which shut it in from the eastward. Ebers, and Brugsch, and Birch, and Fürst, have shown[1] that the name by which Egypt is called in the language of the Assyrians and the Persians, as well as of the ancient Hebrews and the modern Arabs (all of their records dating later than the building of the Great Wall), is in various shapings of "an original form which consisted of the three letters M-z-r;" a form which appears in the Hebrew as in the singular *Mazor* (מָצוֹר),[2] and as, in the dual, *Mizraim* (מִצְרַיִם)[3]—the Two Egypts, Upper and Lower. The idea common to the various designations is an "enclosure," a "fortress," a "defense," a "wall," a "limit," or a "boundary."[4] This designation "was originally applied only to a certain definite part of Egypt in the east of the Delta;" the very portion which was

bounds were up to the old fortified line of Egypt. Nor is it improbable that the *Gelamsour* was a compound, through an error in transcribing, of *'olam* and *Shur*, of the Hebrew text.

[1] See Ebers's *Ægypt. u. die Büch. Mose's* (with references to Spiegel, Rawlinson, Lerch, etc.), pp. 85-90; Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 18, 231, II., 237-383; Birch's *Egypt*, Introduction, p. 7; Fürst's *Heb. Lex.*, s. v. "Mitsraim" (with references to Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, Istachri, Bochart, and Champollion). Fürst even suggests that the name "Egypt," or "Ægyptos" [Αἴγυπτος], may have a connection with the Sanskrit "âguptas," "fortified." This suggestion gives a new force to the statement of Manetho (see Josephus *Against Apion*, Book I.) that Ægyptus was another name of Sethosis, or Sesostris, and that from him the name was given to the country. Thus, Sesostris, the Fortifier, or the Waller, of Ægypt, gave the name the Fortified Land, or the Walled Land, to the Land of Egypt; or, rather, the Land he had Walled gave its name to him as the Waller.

[2] 2 Kings 19: 24, and Isa. 37: 25, translated in A. V. "besieged places;" Isa. 19: 6, translated "defense;" in all these places probably meaning Lower Egypt. (See Gesenius's *Heb. Lex.*, s. v. "Matsor.")

[3] Old Testament, *passim*.

[4] See Gesenius, Fürst, Ebers, and Brugsch, as above. See also *Speaker's Com*[illegible]t Gen. 10: 6. Sayce, in a note to Tomkins's *Times of Abraham*, p. 213, says: "Matsor, 'fortified place,' or 'fortification;' hence Mitsraim—'the two defenses,' Upper and Lower Egypt."

shut in, fortified, limited, bounded, by the Great Wall from the Mediterranean Sea to the Heroöpolitan Gulf. Nor is it strange that the Assyrians called by the name "*Muzur*," or the Walled or Fortified Land, that region which was immediately behind the Great Wall that was "before Egypt, as thou goest toward Assyria."[1] Sayce is positive on this point. He says: [2]"Egypt was considered to belong to Asia rather than to Africa. From its division into Upper and Lower came the name Mizraim, 'the Two Matsors,' Matsor being properly 'the Fortification' which defended the country on the Asiatic side."

With the Great Wall standing there across the entrance of Lower Egypt, as a barrier and a landmark between the Delta and the Desert, it follows almost as a matter of course that the region on either side of the Wall should bear the *name* of the Wall: on the western side was the Land of Mazor, the Land Walled in; on the eastern side was the Wilderness of Shur, the Wilderness Walled out. Hence, it comes to pass, that the desert country eastward of Lower Egypt is known in the Bible as the Wilderness of Shur.[3] And this understanding of the term corresponds with the references to this wilderness in the Chaldaic Paraphrase,[4] and in the Talmud,[5] as also with the

[1] Gen. 25: 18.

[2] "The Ethnology of the Bible," and "The Bible and the Monuments," in The Queen's Printers' *Aids to Student of Bible*, pp. 64, 66.

[3] Exod. 15: 22.

[4] The Targum of Onkelos, at Exodus 15: 22, reads: "Wilderness of Khagra" (חַגְרָא). *Khagra* is a Chaldaic noun derived from the same root as the Hebrew verb *Khaghar* (חָגַר), "to bind firmly," "to enclose," "to gird about." Compare the Hebrew *Khughor* (חֲגוֹר), "a girdle," and *Khaghor* (חָגוֹר), "begirt."

[5] "In the Talmud, the word Shur is translated by Coub [כּוּב Koobh], and also by Halouçah; the Targum of the Pseudo-Jonathan has also this last name. The Coub of the Talmud is without doubt identical with the country of the same name mentioned by Ezekiel (30: 5) [Chub], and consequently it is situated between Egypt and Palestine, toward the southwest [from Palestine]. The Talmud gives to this desert nine hundred square parsa. The modern interpreters of the Bible say, that

modern Arabic identification of the Desert of Shur as the Desert el-Jifar.[1]

This recognizing of the Great Wall which was before Egypt as the Shur of the Hebrew Scriptures, throws a new light on the story of the exodus. Indeed the clue which is hereby given to the main facts of the route of that exodus is too important to be overlooked, or to be passed by with a hasty examination; yet it involves quite too much to be fittingly considered in the course of this study of the location of Kadesh. It is, therefore, relegated to a supplemental place in this volume, in order to its fuller and separate treatment in all its varied bearings.[2]

5. A TYPICAL TRAINING PLACE.

To find that Shur was the great Boundary Wall of Egypt, desertward, and that Kadesh was a sanctuary-stronghold on the desert-border of the Land of Canaan, is to find a deeper and a pregnant meaning in the inspired record, that "Abraham . . . . .

to traverse the desert of Shur a journey of seven days is required. Halouçah is probably the village of Elusa [or, Khalusa], in *Palestina Tertia.* Ptolemy counts it as an Idumean city. We have seen that the desert of Shur extends from Egypt to the southwest of Palestine; one can then render Shur by Halouçah in speaking of the side [of the desert] from the town where one would reach it in going out from Hebron as did Hagar." (Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud,* p. 409 *f.*)

[1] Kurtz (*Hist. of Old Cov.,* III., 13) says "that the desert of Shur was the entire tract of desert by which Egypt was bounded on the east. . . . Saadias renders Shur 'el Jifar.' But by the desert of el Jifar the modern Arabians understand the tract which lies between Egypt and the more elevated desert of Et-Tih, and stretches from the Mediterranean to the Gulf of Suez." On this point, see a quotation from Tuch, farther on in this work. For reference to it see Index, *s. v.* "Paran." Niebuhr (*Beschr. von Arabien,* p. 400) suggests that the name Toor, "the well-known haven on the western arm of the Gulf" of Suez, is a reminiscence of "Shur." The possibility of this would seem to be in the Egyptian name "Tar," a "fortress," being confounded in the lapse of time with the Arabic "Toor," a "mountain." This would show vestiges of the Wilderness of the Wall from Elusa to Toor.

[2] It will be found from page 325 to page 431.

dwelled [or tarried[1]] between Kadesh and Shur."[2] That statement no longer stands as a casual mention of a stopping-place in the patriarch's journeyings between two ancient cities, as so many have understood it; but it is uplifted as a typical, or illustrative, lesson out of his divinely directed experience, for the instruction and the cheer of all his descendants—by generation or by grace.[3]

In the sacred story there are three great typical lands: Egypt, Arabia, Canaan. Egypt is the Land of Bondage;[4] Arabia is the Land of Training;[5] Canaan is the Land of Rest.[6] He who would pass from Egypt to Canaan must needs go through Arabia. Shur is the Wall that separates Egypt from Arabia on the one side. Kadesh is the sanctuary-stronghold that marks the boundary-line between Canaan and Arabia on the other side. To tarry "between Kadesh and Shur," is to wait in Arabia between Egypt and Canaan; is to remain in the Land of Training, between the Land of Bondage and the Land of Rest.

If, as we may well suppose, the story of Abraham was recorded by Moses during the long years of the Israelites' tarry in the wilderness,[7] there was a peculiar fitness and force in this reference to the tarry of Abraham in that same region, in the application of its lessons to the Israelites in their experience and needs. They had been brought out of Egypt, the Walled Land of Bondage, in

[1] Comp. Gen. 20: 1; Gen. 27: 44; Judges 6: 18; 2 Sam. 15: 29; 2 Kings 2: 2, 4, 6.

[2] Gen. 20: 1.

[3] Gal. 3: 7–9; Rom. 11: 1–6.

[4] Exod. 13: 14; 20: 2; Deut. 5: 6; 6: 12; 8: 14; 13: 5; Josh. 24: 7; Judges 6: 8; 2 Kings 18: 21; Isa. 19: 1–18; Ezek. 29: 6–12; Rev. 11: 8; etc.

[5] It was into Arabia that Moses was led, in his training for his work as leader and lawgiver, after his dwelling in Egypt (Exod. 2: 11–22; 3: 1–6). Elijah the prophet had his training lessons there (1 Kings 19: 1–18). And thither was Paul sent in preparation for his work as the Apostle to the Gentiles (Gal. 1: 17). See also Deut. 8: 1–6, 15, 16; Gal. 4: 22–26.

[6] Exod. 3: 7, 8; Deut. 1: 7, 8, 21; 3: 24–28; 6: 3–12; 8: 7–10; 11: 10–15; etc. Also Heb. 3: 8–11, 16–18; 4: 1–11; etc.

[7] Comp., *e. g.*, Exod. 17: 14; 24: 4; 34: 27; Num. 33: 2; etc.

the hope of a speedy entrance into the Promised Land of Rest.[1] But on reaching Kadesh-barnea, the sanctuary-stronghold of the border of their expected inheritance, they had been turned back into the wilderness,[2] and were now wearily passing their lives in its desolateness, and under its privations. Their temptation was to see only the dark side of such a lot, and to repine at the divine direction which permitted it. Then it was that this story of Abraham brought its needed lessons for their instruction.

Abraham had been promised a possession in Canaan. He had given up everything in order to receive it.[3] But Abraham went down into Egypt, and there even he had wavered in his faith, and had so swerved from the truth, in order to his own protection, as to draw forth a rebuke from Pharaoh for his lack of fearless straightforwardness.[4] The baneful influence of the Land of Bondage had been felt even by him who could be called the "Father of the Faithful,"[5] and the "Friend of God."[6] Abraham "went up out of Egypt," passed through the barriers of the Great Wall, and entered again the Promised Land.[7] But he was not yet fully fitted to possess that land. He was turned back from its southern borders, for a period of needed waiting and preparing in the Land of Training.[8] After actually having a foothold in the Promised Land of Rest, he did not at once establish himself there for a permanency. On the contrary, "Abraham journeyed from thence toward the South Country [the Negeb], and dwelled [tarried for a time] between Kadesh and Shur, and sojourned [literally, was a stranger] in Gerar"—which lay between those typical landmarks.

How this reminder must have come home to the Israelites to whom it was first spoken by Moses! What a light it threw on God's dealings with themselves! How it swept away all thought of

[1] Exod. 3: 13–17; 4: 29–31. [2] Num. 14: 26–34; Deut. 1: 19–40. [3] Gen. 12: 1–7. [4] Gen. 12: 10–19. [5] Gen. 12: 13; Gal. 3: 6–9. [6] Gen. 12: 2, 3; 18: 17; 2 Chron. 20: 7; Isa. 41: 8; James 2: 23. [7] Gen. 13: 1–4, 14–18. [8] Gen. 20: 1.

his harshness or severity toward them! They could not doubt God's love for Abraham. They knew that Abraham never doubted that love. Yet Abraham, their great progenitor, to whom, and through whom, had come all the promises which gave them hope of a goodly inheritance,[1] even he had been compelled to pass a period in the Land of Training before he finally had a permanent home in the Land of Rest. He had been a patient tarrier "between Kadesh and Shur," where they were compelled to tarry. And as they were called to follow in the steps, and to wait in the training-place, of their great forerunner, the call to them was to let the same mind be in them which was also in him; for in the darkest day of his pilgrimage, as in the brightest, "he believed in the Lord; and he counted it to him for righteousness."[2]

In this light of the inspired statement, it would seem that whatever uncertainty there is concerning the geographical position of Kadesh, there need be no doubt as to its typical, or illustrative, signification. And, indeed, this understanding of the case makes it clear that Kadesh is somewhere along the southern boundary of the Land of Canaan, on or near the great highway from Canaan, Egyptward. And this gives another hint toward the fixing of its site.

6. GERAR AND BERED.

Although the precise location of Abraham's dwelling-place, as he moved downward along the great caravan route toward Egypt, and tarried between Hebron and the desert,[3] is not shown in the text, there are helps to its indicating. At a later day, Isaac seems to have followed in his father's tracks over this same route,[4] and to have made similar stops in his journeying; for, as he passed between Gerar and Beersheba (two points reached by father and son

[1] Gen. 17: 1-8; Exod. 3: 15-17.
[2] Gen. 15: 6.
[3] Gen. 13: 18; 18: 1; 20: 1.
[4] Gen. 26: 1, 6.

alike, in their dealings with the king of the Philistines),[1] Isaac reopened the wells of water which his father had digged; "and he called their names after the names by which his father had called them."[2] These wells were obviously not in the city of Gerar—then the chief city of the Philistines;[3] but in the valley, or wady, of Gerar,[4] and thence along upward, or northerly, toward Beersheba.[5]

That the land of the Philistines in the days of Abraham corresponded with the limits of their possessions in the days of Samson and of David, we have no reason to suppose.[6] The route of neither Abraham nor Isaac would seem to have been, at any time, in the direction of Gaza; nor would a move have been likely to be called upward, or northward,[7] from Gerar to Beersheba, if Gerar had been near Gaza—as it has been the modern fashion to look for it.[8] It is probable that the range of the Philistines in the

[1] Gen. 21: 22–33; 26: 26–33. [2] Gen. 26: 6, 16–18. [3] Gen. 10: 19; 20: 1, 2; 26: 6–8. [4] Gen. 26: 17. [5] Gen. 26: 18–23.

[6] See Ritter's *Geog. of Pal.*, I., 30, 374, 430; Stewart's *Tent and Khan*, p. 207 *f.*

"There are no grounds whatever for believing that the country along the Mediterranean in the Shephelah or Lowland, which we know to have been inhabited by the Philistines from the age of Joshua downwards, was occupied by them in the times of the patriarchs. On the contrary, we are distinctly informed that not only on Abraham's first arrival at Sichem, and after his return from Egypt, 'the Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelled then in the land' (Gen. 12: 6; 13: 7), but that this continued to be the case even two hundred years later, in the days of Jacob (Gen. 34: 30)." (Wilton's *The Negeb*, p. 245 *f.*)

"It [Gerar] was of olde a distinct kingdome from the Philistim satrapies." (Raleigh's *History of the World*, Part I., Book II., Chap. 10, § 2.)

[7] Gen. 26: 23. The Hebrew word (יָעַל) *yaʿal*, would seem to indicate a northerly, certainly an upward direction. See Tristram's *Bible Places*, p. 1 *f.*

[8] See Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, I., 189; II., 43 *f.*; Rowlands' letter in Williams's *Holy City*, p. 488; Van de Velde's *Syrien u. Palästina*, II., 182; his *Map of the Holy Land*, Sec. VII.; Conder's Reports, in "Pal. Expl. Quart. State.," July, 1875, pp. 162–165; Thomson's *South. Pal.* (Land and Book), pp. 196–198; Kalisch's *Com. on O. T.*; and Alford's *Genesis*, at Gen. 20: 1.

There are probable references to Gerar in the Geographical Lists of the Temple of

days of Abraham was along the southwestern borders of Canaan, desertward; including the stretch westerly of the great caravan route between Egypt and Assyria already mentioned, from Beersheba[1] on the north, to Wady Jeroor,[2] or the Valley of Gerar, on the south. These two latter points are fairly identified; as is also Rehoboth,[3] between them.

Karnak (see *Surv. of West. Pal.*, "Special Papers," pp. 189, 193; and Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 392 *f*). Gerar is also referred to in several of the early Christian writings (see Robinson, Stewart, Wilton, Ritter, as above; and "List of Metropolitan, Archiepiscopal, and Episcopal towns in the See of Jerusalem," in Appendix to Palmer's *Desert of the Exodus*, II., 550 *ff.*). But none of these references fix the location of Gerar, although some of them clearly seem to put it *in the desert*, south of Judah. (See also Stark's *Gaza u. d. Philist. Küste.*)

Reland (*Palæstina*, p. 805) quotes Cyril in favor of the identification of Gerar at Beersheba; and calls attention to the fact that the *Arabic Version* (at Gen. 20: 1; 26: 1) gives El-Chalutz (El-Khulasah, or Elusa) for Gerar. Hasius (*Regni David. et Sal.*, p. 290) and Cellarius (*Geog. Antiq.*, Lib. III., Cap. 13, p. 498) locate Gerar near Beersheba.

Of all the more recent suggested identifications of the name Gerar near Gaza, there appears to be nothing more than the natural designation of great heaps of pottery, as Umm el-Jerrâr, the Place of Water Pots. Conder's attempt to show that this is not the meaning in this case is met by Professor Palmer in his editing of the "Name Lists" (p. 420) of the *Surv. of West. Pal.* Yet "Umm Jerâr" appears in Baedeker's *Palestine and Syria* (p. 315) as "the ancient Gerar;" and Porter (*Giant Cities of Bashan*, etc., p. 209) even claims to have seen "the Valley of Gerar" as he looked out toward the south of Gaza from "Samson's Hill."

[1] See Reland's *Palæstina*, pp. 61, 187, 215, 484, 620; Grove, in *Smith-Hackett Bib. Dic.*, s. v. "Beersheba;" Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, I., 204 *f.*; Tristram's *Land of Israel*, pp. 376–380; Palmer's *Des. of Exod.*, II., 386–390; Bartlett's *Egypt to Pal.*, p. 402 *f.*; Conder's *Tent Work in Pal.*, II., 92–96; Thomson's *South. Pal.* (Land and Book), pp. 297–299.

[2] Stewart's *Tent and Khan*, pp. 207–212; Wilton's *The Negeb*, Appendix, pp. 237–250; Thomson's *South. Pal.* (Land and Book), p. 198.

[3] See Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, I., 196–198, for important facts tending to this identification, although he was hindered from accepting it by his theories as to the location of Gerar and Zephath. For reasons and opinions in its favor, see Williams's *Holy City*, p. 489; Stewart's *Tent and Khan*, p. 200 *f.*; Bonar's *Des. of Sinai*, pp. 313–315; Kurtz's *Hist. of Old Cov.*, I., 290 *f.*; Wilton's *The Negeb*, p. 242 *f.*; Strauss's *Sinai u. Golg.*, p. 122; Keil and Delitzsch's *Bib. Com.*, I., 272; Palmer's *Des. of*

Bered is not identified.[1] And, indeed, it may fairly be questioned whether it was a particular centre of habitation, rather than some more general region. It is thought by some to be another name for Shur, or for Gerar.[2] However this may be, its mention over against Kadesh, in the locating of Hagar's Well,[3] would seem to place it in the same general direction as Shur.[4]

Whatever doubts are yet unsolved concerning the precise location of Shur, and Gerar, and Bered, enough is made clear to show that both the Well of Hagar and the dwelling-place of Abraham at Gerar, or on his way to it, were on the great caravan route between Egypt and Syria, somewhere between Beersheba, on the north, and Wady Jeroor on the south; and that the site of Kadesh must be sought eastward from their neighborhood, as thus indi-

Exod., II., 382–384; Tristram's *Bible Places*, p. 13; Thomson's *South. Pal.* (Land and Book), p. 198.

[1] Yet "Bered" is one of the places to be found noted on well-nigh all the popular maps of the Holy Land without an interrogation point!

[2] See Fries, in *Stud. u. Krit.*, for 1854, p. 62; and Grove, in *Smith-Hackett's Bib. Dic.*, s. v. "Bered."

[3] For a proposed identification of Hagar's Well—Beer-lahai-roi—at Moilâhi, see Rowlands's statement, in the Appendix to Williams's *Holy City*, p. 489 *ff.* This identification is referred to approvingly by Ritter, in *Geog. of Pal.*, I., 432; Tuch, in *Jour. of Sac. Lit.*, July, 1848, p. 94; Keil and Delitzsch, in *Bib. Com.*, I., 222; Wilton, in *The Negeb*, p. 178; Thomson, in *South. Pal.* (Land and Book), p. 199. The fact that Moilâhi, or Muwaylih, is a prominent watering-station on the caravan route from Egypt to Syria (as Beer-lahai-roi is declared to have been, Gen. 16 : 7), is confirmed by Robinson (*Bib. Res.*, I., 190, 600).

[4] Philo Judæus (*Liber de Profugis*, I., 577, Mangey's paging), speaking of the place of Hagar's Well, in its figurative or symbolic aspects, says: "And most suitable indeed is the place of this well, 'between Kadesh and Barad;' for Barad on the one hand is interpreted 'among the profane' [or, the common]; but Kadesh, 'holy.' For he is on the boundary of the holy and profane who is fleeing from the evil, but not yet fit to consort with the perfectly good." This would seem to indicate the traditional site of Bered as toward Egypt; for Egypt was the type of the profane world, as over against Palestine, or the Holy Land.

cated. This corresponds closely with the indications in the record of Kedor-la'omer's march and halting-place.

7. THE MOUNTAIN OF THE AMORITES.

Not until the days of the exodus does Kadesh again come into sight. But the review-narrative of the journeyings of the Israelites, in the opening chapter of Deuteronomy, already referred to,[1] would seem to indicate that Kadesh was the objective point after leaving Sinai, or Horeb, as preparatory to the final move into Canaan. "When we departed from Horeb," says Moses, "we went through all that great and terrible wilderness which ye saw [became acquainted with] by the Way of [in the Road of] the mountain [the hill country] of the Amorites; and we came to Kadesh-barnea. And I said unto you, Ye are come unto the mountain [the hill-country] of the Amorites, which the Lord our God doth give unto us. Behold the Lord thy God hath set the land before thee: go up and possess it."[2]

The Amorites, or "Highlanders," of the Promised Land, were often spoken of as its representative people.[3] They occupied the hill-country (afterwards that of Judah and Ephraim), between the Canaanites proper—or the "Lowlanders"[4]—of the plains of Philistia and Sharon and Phœnicia on the west, and of the valley of

[1] See page 2, *supra*.

[2] Deut. 1: 19–21.

[3] Gen. 15: 16; comp. Num. 14: 45 and Deut. 1: 44; Josh. 10: 5; 24: 15; Judges 6: 10; Amos 2: 9, 10. See Grove in *Smith-Hackett Bib. Dic.*, s. v. "Amorite;" also Keil and Delitzsch's *Bib. Com.*, I., 216; III., 86, 284.

[4] The word "Canaan" is from a Hebrew root *Kan'a* (כָּנַע) meaning, "to bend the knee," or "to be low." It would seem to be employed in this primitive sense in the Bible almost without exception. (See Winer's *Bibl. Realwörterb.* and *Smith-Hackett Bib. Dic.*, s. v. "Canaan.") But there is a secondary meaning of the word, as "merchants," or "traffickers." (See Isa. 23: 8; Hos. 12: 7.) This may have grown out of the fact that the Lowlanders of Phœnicia became known as the fore-

the Jordan on the east.[1] This hill-country of the Amorites would loom up prominently before the eyes of those who approached Canaan from the south. Traces of its lower limits are even yet found in the names Dhaygat el-'Amureen (the Ravine of the Amorites) and Râs 'Amir (the Highland Peak, or Spur); the latter just above Jebel Muwaylih;[2] and the former a few miles to the north and east of it.

If then, Kadesh-barnea was (as would appear from this) just at the southern base of the Amorite hill-country, another indication of its site is secured, in addition to the hints obtained from Genesis. It must have been under one of the east and west ranges running across the desert; not lower down than Jebel Muwaylih (which is westward of Râs 'Amir); for at Kadesh the Israelites

most traders and traffickers of the world; as we now use the term "Jew," or "Yankee," to indicate the trading faculty.

"The population was broadly distinguished into Canaanites, the inhabitants of the Canaan, or 'lowlands,' and Amorites, or 'Highlanders.' Canaan was originally the name of the coast on which the great trading cities of the Phœnicians stood; but long before the time of the Israelitish invasion, the name had been extended to denote the dwellers in the plain, wherever they might be. Indeed, passages like Judges 1: 9 show that it had been extended even farther, and had come to signify tribes which were properly Amorites. Hence it is that the language, spoken alike by the Hebrews and the older inhabitants of the country, is called 'the language of Canaan' (Isa. 19: 18). But the earlier use of the name also survived. Thus, in Isaiah 23: 11, it is said of Tyre that 'the Lord hath given a commandment against Canaan, to destroy the strongholds thereof,' where the Authorized Version has mistranslated 'merchant-city' instead of Canaan. . . The same wide extension that had been given to the name of Canaanite was given also to that of Amorite. It is possible that the title by which the kingdom of Damascus was known to the Assyrians, Gar-'imirisv, originally meant simply "the country of the Amorite." But the Amorites, of whom we chiefly hear in the Bible, lived far away in the south, at Hebron and Jerusalem (Josh. 10: 5, 6); at Hazezon-tamar (Gen. 14: 7) and Shechem (Gen. 48: 22; 2 Sam. 21: 2), and even in Bashan on the eastern side of the Jordan (Deut. 3: 8). (Prof. A. H. Sayce in "The Sunday School Times" for June 23, 1883.)

[1] Num. 13: 29; Josh. 5: 1; 10: 6.   [2] Palmer's *Des. of Exod.*, II., 380.

had not yet entered the hill-country of the Amorites; they had only come to it. And again it was evidently north of the Jebel 'Arâeef range,[1] around the western end of which Kedor-la'omer swept northward from the Wilderness of Paran[2] before he came to "En-mishpat, which is Kadesh."[3] But how far west or east, on that hill boundary-line, Kadesh was located, demands farther examination.

8. PARAN AND ZIN.

In the story of the wanderings it would appear, at one time, that Kadesh was in the Wilderness of Paran;[4] and again that it was in the Wilderness of Zin;[5] that it was an eleven days' journey [or distance] from Horeb by the Way of Mount Seir [or by the Mount Seir Road] to Kadesh-barnea;[6] and that Kadesh was near the outer edge of the possessions of Edom.[7] What help, or what difficulty, toward fixing the site of Kadesh, is to be found in these indications?

The term "Wilderness of Paran" seems to be used, in its stricter sense, as including the central and northern portion of the desert region between the mountains of Sinai and the Negeb; the district now known as the "Bâdiyat et-Teeh Beny Israel" or the "Desert of the Wanderings of the Children of Israel."[8] In a larger sense

[1] See Robinson's statement quoted on page 38, *supra*. [2] See page 22, *supra*.

[3] Gen. 14: 7. [4] Num. 13: 26. [5] Num. 20: 1; 27: 14; Deut. 32: 51.

[6] Deut. 1: 2. [7] Num. 20: 14–16.

[8] This designation runs back in the Arabian historians as far as we have any track of their name for this desert. Abulfeda (who wrote about the year 1300) gives it in his *Tabula Ægypti* (p. 1). In comment on this, Michaelis says in his notes: "*Desertum, in quo errarunt Israelitæ, Ægypto proximum, ita vocant Arabes. Si quis sonos Arabicos latine expressos cupiat, hi sunt: Tih Beni Israel.*" "The Arabs so call the desert near Egypt, in which the Israelites wandered. If any one wishes the Arabic sounds expressed in Latin letters, here they are: 'Teeh Beny Israel.'"

Seetzen, journeying over this desert in 1807, wrote: "Et-Teeh, according to

the term may have applied to the entire wilderness region of which this Paran proper was the centre; including the various surrounding districts bearing local designations, such as the Wilderness of Sinai,[1] the Wilderness of Zin, the Wilderness of Beersheba,[2] the Wilderness of Ziph,[3] the Wilderness of Maon,[4] etc.

Yakoot, the renowned geographer of Hamâh, is the name of the desert which is bounded by the Red Sea, Palestine, and Egypt. It is said to be forty parasangs long and broad, and to be the place where the Israelites lived just so many years [*i. e.* as forty]; for which reason it is also commonly called Et-Teeh Beny Israel." (Seetzen's *Reisen durch Syrien*, etc., III., 47 *f.*) Seetzen adds that the traditional name doubtless came through Arabic sources, as the Bed'ween have no knowledge of the story of the Israelites.

Burton, through the necessity laid on him by his advocacy of another region than the Peninsula of Sinai for the place of the Law-giving, has urged that the reference to "wandering" in this designation is not to the wanderings of the *Israelites*. At first he said, inquiringly, in his *Unexplored Syria* (I., 28, note): "May I suggest that this term, universally translated 'Desert of the Wanderings,' may mean with more probability the 'Desert of the (general) Wandering,' that is to say, where men wander and may lose their way?" But from this starting-point of honest inquiry *he* seems to wander and lose his way in that desert (see his *Gold-Mines of Midian*, p. 98, note), until at last, in a public reference to the death of Prof. Palmer (see "The Academy," for May 5, 1883), he could speak sneeringly of *him*, as one who "insisted upon translating, with the vulgar, 'Tih' 'by Wilderness of *the* Wanderings,' when it simply means a wilderness where men may wander." This is noteworthy merely as an illustration of "subjective criticism" on the part of those who would conform the facts to their own theories. There is no evidence that the desert in question was ever called "Et-Teeh" at an earlier date than we know it to have been called "Et-Teeh Beny Israel." If we are to reject the latter half of the record, what right have we to retain the former half? Indeed, it is every way probable that the earlier designation was the Wilderness of Paran; not the Wilderness et-Teeh—either with or without the Beny Israel.

See Ritter's *Geog. of Pal.*, I., 360, 370–376; Burckhardt's *Trav. in Syria*, p. 448 *ff.*; Palmer's *Des. of Exod.*, II., 284-289; Tuch in *Jour. of Sac. Lit.*, April, 1848, p. 89 *f.*; Kalisch's *Com. on. O. T.*, at Gen. 14: 5, 6.

[1] Num. 10: 12. [2] Comp. Gen. 21: 14, 21. [3] Comp. 1 Sam. 23: 14, 24; 25: 1, 2.

[4] "It would not be inconsistent with the rules of Scripture nomenclature, if we suppose these accessory wilds to be sometimes included under the general name of Wilderness of Paran." (Hayman in *Smith-Hackett Bib. Dic.*, s. v. "Paran.") See a discussion, with the same conclusion, in Wilson's *Lands of the Bible*, I., 201 *f.*

This would account for the vestige of the name in Wady Fayran[1] in the lower peninsula,—if it be recognized there; and for the reference to it as in the hill-country of Judah in the days of David.[2] In this view of the sweep of the term "Paran," it is by no means strange to find Kadesh spoken of at one time as in the general Wilderness of Paran, and again as in, or at, the smaller district of the Wilderness of Zin.

And now where was the Wilderness of Zin? It is repeatedly referred to as on the southern border of Canaan, and along the eastern portion of that border.[3] It cannot have been the extensive depression between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of 'Aqabah known as the 'Arabah, and which is a continuation of the basin of the Jordan, known above the Dead Sea as the Ghôr; for *that* is

"The wilderness of Paran seems to have been a name taken, in a larger and [in a] stricter sense. In the larger sense it seems to have denoted all the desert and mountainous tract lying between the wilderness of Shur westward or toward Egypt, and Mount Seir or the land of Edom eastward; between the land of Canaan northwards, and the Red Sea southwards. . . . In its stricter acceptation . . . it is taken to denote more peculiarly that part of the desert of Stony Arabia which lies between Mount Sinai and Hazeroth to the west, and Mount Seir to the east." (Wells's *Hist. Geog. of Old and New Test.*, I., 272.) Winer (*Bibl. Realwörterb.*, II., 193) adopts this view, in substance; also Kalisch, as above. Comp. Gen. 21: 20, 21; Num. 10: 12, 33; 12: 16.

[1] "In Wady Feiran, . . . there is an evident reminiscence of the ancient name Paran. The Bedawîn are unable to pronounce the letter *p*, and the word becoming Fáran would soon degenerate with them into Feirân." (Palmer's *Des. of Exod.*, I., 20.) "Paran (Num. 10: 12) is no doubt the Wadî Phiran [Fayran] where formerly the town of Pharan stood." (Schwarz's *Descript. Geog. of Pal.*, p. 212). Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomasticon*, s. v. "Pharan") seem to have this place in mind, although, by mistake, they locate it *east* instead of *west* of Aila. See, also, Kurtz's *Hist. of Old Cov.*, III., 191 *f.*

[2] 1 Sam. 25: 1, 2. Bishop Harold Browne, in *The Speaker's Commentary*, thinks that *Paran* should here read Maon; but Schwarz (*s. v.* "Paran") understands from Josephus (*Wars of the Jews*, Book IV., Chap. IX.) that in the latter's day "the Desert of Paran extended to the neighborhood of the Dead Sea," which would include the region of David's retreat.

[3] Num. 34: 3, 4; Josh. 15: 1, 3.

always spoken of by its own distinctive name, which is also its description. Robinson has made this clear. He says:[1] "The Hebrew word 'Arabah, signifying in general 'a desert plain, steppe,' is applied with the article (*the* 'Arabah) directly as the proper name of the great valley in question in its whole length; and has come down to us at the present day in the same form in Arabic, el-'Arabah. We find the Hebrew 'Arabah distinctly connected with the Red Sea and Elath; the Dead Sea itself is called the sea of the 'Arabah. It extended also toward the north to the Lake of Tiberias; and the 'Arboth (plains) of Jericho and Moab were parts of it.[2] The 'Arabah of the Hebrews, therefore, like the Ghôr of Abulfeda, was the great valley in its whole extent." If, therefore, the 'Arabah had been intended, where the Wilderness of Zin is mentioned, it would surely have been spoken of as the 'Arabah.

Directly west of the 'Arabah is a wild mountain region, rising in successive slopes or terraces from the 'Arabah in one direction, and from the Desert et-Teeh in another. It now bears the name of the Arabs who inhabit it, and is commonly known as the 'Azâzimeh mountains, or the 'Azâzimat.[3] This is a distinct and well-defined local wilderness, fully meeting the conditions of the various references to the Wilderness of Zin in the

[1] *Bib. Res.*, II., 186.

[2] "Heb. הָעֲרָבָה *ha-'Arabah*, in connection with the Red Sea and Elath, Deut. 1: 1; 2: 8. As extending to the Lake of Tiberias, Josh. 12: 3; 2 Sam. 4: 7; 2 Kings 25: 4. 'Sea of the 'Arabah, the Salt Sea,' Josh. 3: 16; 12: 3; Deut. 4: 49. 'Plains (עַרְבוֹת) of Jericho, Josh. 5, 10; 2 Kings 25: 5. 'Plains of Moab,' *i. e.*, opposite Jericho, probably pastured by Moab though not within its proper territory, Deut. 34: 1, 8; Num. 22: 1. Compare Gesenius *Lex. Heb.*, Art. עֲרָבָה."

See also Keil and Delitzsch's *Bib. Com.*, III., 277 *f.*; and Keil's *Handbuch der Biblischen Archäologie*, pp. 28–30.

[3] See Palmer's *Des. of Exod.*, "The Mountains of the 'Azázimeh," Vol. II., Chap. VII.; Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, II., 176–179; Kurtz's *Hist. of Old Cov.*, III., 193 *f.*

Bible.[1] It may fairly be identified as that wilderness, and again as a portion of the Wilderness of Paran in its larger sense.[2] Yet its northeastern portion was probably in Edom, and it is possible that only the remainder was known as Zin.

This identification of the Wilderness of Zin would locate Kadesh somewhere in the 'Azâzimeh mountains; and this corresponds with all previous indications of its site in the Bible text.

9. AN ELEVEN DAYS' COURSE.

The fact that Kadesh-barnea was "eleven days"[3] from Horeb, or Sinai, does not materially aid in its closer locating; for that distance might be calculated to a point farther east or west, and similarly farther north or south, within a considerable range, according to the particular route followed.

Distances in the East are calculated, almost universally, by time. In illustration of this, when the Arabs saw me use a military field-glass on the desert, they asked me "how many hours ahead" I could see through the glass. And an Arabic geographer even speaks of the river Nile as extending "one month in the

Palmer also calls this entire mountain district "Jebel el Magrâh," describing it as a plateau, "seventy miles in length, and from forty to fifty miles broad, commencing at Jebel 'Araif, and extending northward by a series of steps or terraces to within a short distance of Beersheba, from which it is separated by Wâdy er Rakhmeh." (*Des. of Exod.*, II., 288 *f.*)

[1] Num. 20: 1; 33: 36; 34: 3, 4; Josh. 15: 1, 3.

[2] "Zin must have been a part of this wilderness [Paran], namely, the northern part; the district stretching out from the Ghôr southwesterly in high rock masses, and gradually lowering itself near Jebel el-Helal." (Winer's *Bib. Realwörterb.*, s. v. "Zin.")

See, also, Hayman, in *Smith-Hackett Bib. Dic.*, s. v. "Zin;" Tuch, in Kitto's *Jour. of Sac. Lit.*, July, 1848, p. 90 *f.*; Keil and Delitzsch's *Bib. Com.*, III., 87; Kalisch's *Bib. Com. on O. T.*, at Gen. 14: 6; Palfrey's *Lect. on Jewish Script. and Antiq.*, I., 417, note.

[3] Deut. 1: 2.

country of the Mussulmans;"[1] that is, its course is equal to a month's journeying. They have no thought of miles as a standard of measurement; but rather of the time needed to pass the distance at *ordinary* rates of travel. It is the caravan speed which is the standard. On regular routes, there are certain conventional day's distances, fixed by convenience of water and camp-grounds. These may be "long-days" or "short-days," but long or short, each counts for one. If a man should post on a dromedary over two of those intervals, or five of them, between sun and sun, he would have made not *one* day's journey, but two or five days, as it would be reckoned in the East. Thus, for example, it is said that Muhammad 'Alee once rode a dromedary from Suez to Cairo in eleven hours; making, say, five days' journey in one day. The fair thing for a day's caravan journey, as an Oriental looks at it, remains unchanged, whether a traveler hurries or lags in *his* journeying. Whether the Israelites were a week, or two years, in making the distance between Horeb and Kadesh, the distance by the Mount Seir Road was still "eleven days." That could not be changed on their account, or by their action.

Almost every traveler in the East has had illustrations of the fixedness of the day's-journey idea in the minds of Orientals. When I was going north from Jerusalem I was particularly desirous of hastening towards Nazareth and the Sea of Galilee, for special reasons; and my Egyptian dragoman promised to arrange accordingly. I was willing to start early and to ride late for a few days, and yet to pay the full price for the time thus cut out of the usual course. But when it came to planning for the camping-places for each night, it actually seemed impossible for dragoman and muleteers to get it into their heads that it was practicable to stop anywhere else than at the traditionally accepted sites. They were willing to start at any hour I would name, but when they

[1] "Abd-er-Rashid El-Bakouy," as cited in *Memoirs Relative to Egypt*, p. 436.

came to the old-time camp-ground they must camp. At last my dragoman entreated me to abandon the effort at the impossible. In my own country I could do as I pleased, he said; but in their country each day's journey on the roads they traveled had been fixed by their fathers; and neither they nor I could change it. So I actually yielded the point because of its seeming impracticability, as they looked at it.

Had I wished to make a hurried run, day and night, with a single attendant, they could have understood *that;* but for a caravan to attempt to change the division of the road into day's journeys—that was out of the question. And as it is now, so it has been, and so it is likely to be, in the East. When Moses named "eleven days" as the stretch between Horeb and Kadesh-barnea by the route they had come, every Israelite knew exactly what he meant, whether we understand it or not.

Inasmuch as "a day's journey" is a conventional term, with its enforced adaptation to particular routes, it is not easy to reduce it to miles as a help to its fixing; although it would be a very simple thing to calculate its measurement were it once fixed. The average of a day's journey in the desert region is, say, seven hours' travel, at the rate of perhaps two and a third miles an hour.[1] This would practically be from fifteen to eighteen miles a day.

It would therefore appear that Kadesh-barnea was from, say, one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles from Mount Sinai, by the route here indicated—"the Way of Mount Seir," or "the Mount Seir Road;"[2] although, of course, on this particular route, the then well-known daily stretches—because of the suitable stations—*may* have been exceptionally "short-day's" journeyings. The

[1] For estimates of the length of an average day's travel in the East, see Rosenmüller's *Bib. Geog.*, p. 161 *f.*; Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, I., 593 *f.*; Von Raumer's *Palästina*, p. 21; Lane's *Thousand and One Nights*, Vol. I., p. 116, note.

[2] The Hebrew word translated Way is *derekh* (דֶּרֶךְ), meaning a "road," a "beaten track," a "trodden course."

correspondence of this measurement with the facts in the case can only be tested when we have fixed the site of Kadesh, and settled the course of the Mount Seir Road.

10. THE WAY OF MOUNT SEIR.

The natural roads of a country are God's great landmarks. They were fixed in the processes of creation; and they remain comparatively unchanged through all the changes of the centuries. The courses of empire and the advances of civilization are indicated beforehand, or they can be tracked in history, by the natural highways along which alone it would be possible for them to move. Hence, when we find in the earliest book of the Bible a reference to an extended military campaign from Elam to Canaan, we can see the route which the ambitious chieftain must have taken; and again, when we are tracking the course of the Israelites in their exodus or their wanderings, the specific references to the various roads which they followed, or which they avoided, are the best possible helps to a fixing of their route beyond a peradventure.

This important aid to the elucidation of many of the biblical-geographical problems has been generally overlooked by commentators and other scholars who have led in the investigations of this field of knowledge. It would seem as if our English translation of the Hebrew word for "road," or "beaten track," or "trodden course," by the indefinite word "way," had unconsciously swayed even those who are familiar with the Hebrew. We use the term "way"[1] as meaning, variously, "direction," "progression," "distance," "means," and "method," even while we do not rule out from its meanings its original signification of "path" or "road." Hence when the Bible speaks of the "Way of Shur," or the

[1] See Webster's, Worcester's, and the Imperial *Dictionaries*, s. v., "Way."

"Way of Mount Seir," it suggests to most readers the idea of a general direction given, or of a diversion from the directest route, rather than the indication of a well-known natural highway, a landmark for all time, under its specific proper name of the time of the Bible's writing.[1]

In the Bible record of the exodus and wanderings of the Israelites there are at least nine roads thus indicated, as supplying a skeleton itinerary of the Israelites' course. As we may fairly translate, or paraphrase the names of these roads, they are: The Wall Road,[2] the Philistia Road,[3] the Red Sea Road,[4] the Mount Seir Road,[5] the Amorite Hill-country Road,[6] the 'Arabah Road,[7] the Edom Royal Road,[8] the Moab Wilderness Road,[9] and the Bashan Road.[10] Again there is the Road of the Spies, or the Road of the Athareem[11] which may be the same as one of the roads already named, but more probably is a road which was known to the Israelites only by this designation.

In his review of the course of the Israelites, at the close of their forty years' wandering,[12] Moses reminds them that, in their original passing from Sinai to Kadesh, they came along two well-known roads of the mountain and desert, which he designates by the specific, and the sufficiently descriptive names, the "Way of Mount Seir,"[13] or the "Mount Seir Road," and the "Way of the Mountain of the Amorites,"[14] or the "Amorite Hill-country Road." Ob-

[1] Even Grove (in *Smith-Hackett Bib. Dic.*, s. v., "Way"), while recognizing the fact that *derekh* "in the majority of cases signifies . . . . an actual road," is still inclined to see an indication of direction in its use, and to read "the road *to* the Red Sea," rather than "the Red Sea Road."

[2] Comp. Gen. 16: 7 and Exod. 15: 22. This road, and the two roads immediately following it in the above list, receive full attention in their relations to the exodus, in the Study on the "Route of the Exodus," at the close of this volume

[3] Exod. 13: 18. [4] Exod. 13: 18; Deut. 1: 40; 2: 1.

[5] Deut. 1: 2. [6] Deut. 1: 19. [7] Deut. 2: 8. [8] Num. 20: 17.

[9] Deut. 2: 8. [10] Num. 21: 33. [11] Num. 21: 1.

[12] See Deut. 1: 1–19. [13] Deut. 1: 2. [14] Deut. 1: 19.

viously these two roads were not parallel, but the one was supplemental to the other in the journeying of the Israelites; for, as the text itself indicates, the Mount Seir Road was out from Horeb, and the Amorite Hill-country Road was over the wilderness up to Kadesh-barnea. Mount Seir lay northeasterly from Mount Sinai, while the Amorite Hill-country lay northerly. The one road, therefore, would carry them in a northeasterly direction; and the other, when they turned toward it, would incline them more or less northwesterly. To identify these two roads is to do much toward defining the route of the Israelites, and the more precise location of Kadesh-barnea.

At the present time (as doubtless in the time of Moses), three distinct roads, and only three, open out from Mount Sinai northward toward Palestine, across the wedge-shaped mountain range that forms the southern boundary of the Desert et-Teeh. These roads are spoken of popularly as the western road, the middle road, and the eastern road. Robinson noted them carefully in his day,[1] as other scholars have noted them since. He said: "From the Convent of Sinai . . . . three roads cross by the three great passes of Jebel et-Tîh. . . . The easternmost is the road passing by el-'Ain, and also by the well eth-Themed, west of the mountain Turf er-Rukn. The middle road crosses the Tîh by the pass el-Mureikhy, and the western one by er-Râkineh;" and he adds to his description of them: "The above are all the roads we heard of across the desert, from south to north." It is obvious that only the easternmost of these three roads could have been fairly called the "Mount Seir Road;" for that alone went in the direction of Mount Seir; and it would seem hardly less certain that *that* road would have been so called.

A noteworthy fact in connection with the effort at identifying the Mount Seir Road, as taken by the Israelites, is the latest con-

[1] See *Bib. Res.*, I., 198; also Note XXIV., p. 601 *f.*

clusion of the most experienced competent explorer in that desert region, as to the probable route of the Israelites northward from Sinai. The Rev. F. W. Holland, of England, (who has died since this work was begun,[1]) had no peer in familiarity with the Peninsula of Sinai, as a whole. He made five visits to that region, including the one when he went as the skilled guide of the Sinai Survey Expedition, of which Professor Palmer's book ("The Desert of the Exodus"[2]) tells the story so attractively; and he journeyed on foot,[3] over the peninsula, some five thousand miles in all. Being wedded to no theory of a particular route for the Israelites, he sought, on the occasion of his fifth journey, to study carefully the probabilities of the case in the light of all his observations—of then and before—of "available roads and passes" in every district traversed by him. His conclusion was, that the Israelites moved at first northward from Jebel Moosa (Horeb, or Sinai); then turned toward Wady ez-Zulaqah,[4] which heads directly toward Mount Seir, and which is on the easternmost of the

[1] It was in consequence of the enthusiastic description of a journey in the desert with Mr. Holland, by a companion of his with whom I crossed the Atlantic in the winter of 1881, that I was tempted to make the journey of which this book is a result. On my finding the wells of which Mr. Holland had been in pursuit, I desired and hoped to communicate with him concerning them; but I was hardly at my home again before I learned of his death, in Switzerland, whither he had gone just before my reaching England on my way back.

[2] See Palmer's *Des. of Exod.*, I., 3 *f.*

[3] Palmer (*Des. of Exod.*, I., 195) tells of a messenger coming from Suez to the party at Wady Mukatteb, bringing "a letter calling Holland home." The latter "at once proposed to obey the summons, and starting off on foot, with no other provision than a little bag of flour, reached Suez, a distance of some 110 miles, early in the afternoon of the third day [making "six days" in "three"], having walked the last forty miles without a rest; thus performing a pedestrian feat which has been rarely equalled, and the memory of which still lives in that country."

[4] Holland calls this, the Wady Zelleger (see *Journal of Victoria Institute*, Vol. XIV., p. 10). It appears as Wady ez-Zulakah in Robinson's itinerary of the "East Route" (*Bib. Res.*, I., 602).

three roads described by Robinson (which, in fact, might well be called, from its direction, the "Mount Seir Road"). After passing El-'Ayn,[1] they turned northward again, as Holland thinks, into Wady el-'Ateeyeh, and along that wady to the Desert et-Teeh.

This road is not the one commonly marked out for the Israelites, as running by 'Ayn el-Hudhera to the Gulf of 'Aqabah. *That* is not in the line of any one of the roads from Sinai to Canaan, but is eastward of them all, and has no trend toward Canaan. It has, in fact, been tracked out for the purpose of taking in certain supposed identifications of stations named in the route of the Israelites, rather than because of its correspondence with any feasible course likely to have been taken by them Canaanward. Holland raises a new barrier against its acceptance when he says:[2] "The wadies along that route are confined and winding, and impassable for wagons, six of which, we are told, had been presented by the princes of Mount Sinai, for the service of the tabernacle."[3] Indeed, he "finally came to the conclusion that the only available route for the Children of Israel to have taken was that by Wadies Zeleiger [Zulaqah] and el-Atîyeh;" for "these valleys afford the most direct, the best watered, and by far the most easy course from Jebel Mûsa northward; and by this [route] one ascends to the plateau of the Desert of Et-Tîh without any difficult pass."[4] "Having once mounted to the level of the Tîh desert, a gradual descent across a succession of large open plains, with abundance of pasturage, would lie before them, and they would reach Jebel Mugrah [Muqrâh, at the southern or southeastern border of the 'Azâzimeh mountain tract—the "Wilderness of Zin"] without

[1] There is a Wady el-'Ayn at the western side of the desert, quite distinct from this one at the eastern side.

[2] *Jour. of Vict. Inst.*, Vol. XIV., p. 10.

[3] Num. 7: 3-8.

[4] See Holland's report of his latest journey, in *Report of the British Association*, for 1878, p. 622 *ff.*

any trouble."[1] Somewhere within that mountain tract, Holland would look for Kadesh-barnea; although he was not biased in favor of any site yet suggested, and he had not himself explored the region in which he would expect to find signs of it.

This independent conclusion of so competent an explorer as Holland, as to the route of the Israelites northward from Mount Sinai, is in full accord with all that the Bible narrative has yet indicated to us in our search for the site of Kadesh-barnea; and it goes to show that the Mount Seir Road, by which the Israelites moved out from the Mount Sinai group, was the easternmost of the three roads which went from that group Canaanward; a road which headed directly toward the Mount Seir range,[2] and which might indeed have been followed to that range by a caravan without wagons, and which was not bound for *Canaan*. In the days of Moses, as now, it was not always necessary to follow a road to its terminus; nor was it customary to keep on in a road beyond a point where one must turn from it in order to reach the place for which he had set out. If a man should say, at Hebron, that he had come from Cairo and Suez by the Mekkeh Road (or even if he omitted mention of Suez), it would not be supposed that he had followed the Hajj route across the Sinaitic desert; nor that he had been to Mekkeh. And when Moses referred to the coming to Kadesh-barnea from Sinai by the Mount Seir Road, he clearly did not mean that the Israelites took in Mount Seir on their way; for that range was not on any route between Sinai and the southern border of Canaan; but it was a region that they were particularly forbidden to enter.[3]

[1] *Jour., of Vict. Inst.*, Vol. XIV., p. 11.

[2] "There are now three routes from Sinai to Hebron or Gaza: that by the Rakineh Pass; [that] by the Mareikhy Pass; [and that] by the Zarâneh or Zûlakeh Pass and El-'Ain. Of these three the Hebrews took the most easterly by El-'Ain, which was called the Way of Mount Seir, to distinguish it from the others." (Rowlands, in *Imp. Bib. Dic.*, s. v., "Rithmah.")

[3] "Meddle not with them," said the Lord to Israel, concerning the dwellers in

If Holland is correct, as there seems no good reason for doubting, and the route he has indicated is "the *only* available route for the children of Israel to have taken," with their tabernacle wagons, then we can see clearly just how far they followed the Mount Seir Road, and at what portion of its course they turned northerly or northwesterly into "that great and terrible wilderness" with which they became acquainted as they moved across it, to take the Amorite Hill-country Road up to the very borders of Canaan.

11. THE AMORITE HILL-COUNTRY ROAD.

To identify the Amorite Hill-country Road[1] is not so easy as to identify the Mount Seir Road; yet it must be one of two roads across the desert toward Canaan: and whichever of these it may prove to be, its bearing on the location of Kadesh-barnea is practically the same.

Coming out on to the desert Et-Teeh from the Mount Seir Road, as described by Holland, the Israelites moving Canaanward would still be limited in their choice of routes by the natural characteristics of the country before them.[2] They were on a rolling plateau some fifteen hundred feet above the level of the 'Arabah.[3] The same conditions which decided the course of Kedor-

Mount Seir; "for I will not give you of their land, no not so much as a foot breadth; because I have given Mount Seir unto Esau for a possession." (Deut. 2: 5.)

[1] "We went through all that great and terrible wilderness which ye saw by the Way [the Road] of the Mountain [the Hill-country] of the Amorites . . . . . and we came to Kadesh-barnea." (Deut. 1: 19.)

[2] Although the movements of the Israelites were guided by the pillar of fire and cloud, they had the skilled guide Hobab to be as "eyes" to them in picking out the best desert trails (comp. Num. 9: 15-23, and Num. 10: 29-31.) Thus the wise men from the East guided by the star toward Bethlehem, had the choice before them between any two roads which ran in the direction of their pursuit.

[3] See Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, I., 176, with references to Russegger, etc., in a note.

la'omer's march into southern Canaan[1] would combine to influence their movements. The main road across the Wilderness of Paran (a "great and terrible wilderness,"[2] as they considered it) up to the "Hill-country of the Amorites" (which began at the centre of the southern boundary of Canaan[3]) swept from the Red Sea Road[4] (the modern Hajj route from 'Aqabah to Suez), along around the southern base of the 'Azâzimeh mountain tract until it joined the Wall Road (the "Way of Shur"[5]) near Jebel Muwaylih,[6] or until it diverged northeasterly, near that point, and passed into the 'Azâzimeh tract to the strategic stronghold of Kadesh-barnea, at the very base of "the Mountain of the Amorites."[7]

Until recently it seemed as if there were no alternative to this route Canaanward, for a caravan that was moving across the Desert et-Teeh from the eastward, or from southeastward. Robinson emphasized this fact after his first journey over the desert northward. He saw, from the structure of the entire region, that roads from the east or southeast which "in any degree touch the high plateau of the desert south of El-Mukrâh, must necessarily curve to the west, and passing around the base of Jebel 'Arâif el-Nâkah, continue along the western side of this mountainous tract."[8] He saw, also, that this would have seemed to be the natural course for the Israelites, were it not that he had fixed, in his own mind, on a site for Kadesh-barnea which was not to be reached by this great natural highway over the desert from Sinai to Canaan. "In respect to the route of the Israelites in approaching Palestine," he said,[9] concerning this otherwise inevitable highway, "we here obtained only the conviction that they could not have passed to the westward of Jebel 'Arâif [as other travelers "must necessarily" do]; since such a course would have brought

[1] See page 38, *supra*. [2] Deut. 1: 19. [3] See page 75 *f.*, *supra*; also Judges 1: 36.
[4] Num. 14: 25; Deut. 1: 40; 2: 1. [5] Gen. 16: 7. [6] See page 42, *supra*.
[7] See page 65 *ff.*, *supra*; also Deut. 1: 20.
[8] *Bib. Res.*, I., 186 *f.* [9] *Ibid.*, p. 187.

them directly to Beersheba, and not to Kadesh, which latter city lay near to the border of Edom."[1]

On the face of it, therefore, the Amorite Hill-country Road would seem to have been that one road which presents itself for a desert-crossing to a northward-bound traveler coming out of the Mount Sinai group by the easternmost or Mount Seir Road. *That* is the road which leads to the Amorite Hill-country. It is the road, also, which Robinson followed, and which Kedor-la'omer had taken before him. It is obviously the road which the Israelites would have taken unless, indeed, they were compelled to go elsewhere for reasons not yet indicated. And as we have seen no reason for doubting that this road would be as likely to lead the Israelites to Kadesh-barnea as it was to lead Kedor-la'omer there, we must accept all these indications of its identity unless we find some specific reason for supposing that the borders of Edom, as well as Kadesh-barnea, did not lie within the 'Azâzimeh mountain tract.

Of late, a possibility of an alternative road through the 'Azâzimeh mountain tract, running diagonally northwestward from the southeastern corner of that tract, has been suggested; and this ought not to pass unnoticed here. Mention has already been made[2] of a road in this general direction running out of the 'Arabah, as suggested by Wilton, and as tracked in a portion of its course by Palmer. But it was reserved for the experienced Holland to note the possibility of such a road out from the Desert et-Teeh. It was on his last visit to the Peninsula that he first

[1] This is a marked illustration of unconscious reasoning in a circle. Robinson first decides that Kadesh-barnea is at a certain point in the 'Arabah—because that point lies in the road which was taken by the Israelites. Afterwards he decides that the Israelites did not take the road which would have seemed to be their inevitable route—because, forsooth, that road would not lead them to his fore-determined site of Kadesh-barnea! (Comp. *Bib. Res.*, I., 187; II., 17[illegible] *f.*, 192–195.)

[2] See page 39, note, *supra*.

ascertained that Jebel Muqrâh was separated from Jebel Jerâfeh, at the southeastern corner of that mass of mountains, instead of the two mountains being in a connected and unbroken range, as was before supposed.[1] Between these two mountains there is a roadway, which Holland thinks finds its course up to the borders of Canaan—to the Amorite Hill-country. He would recognize in this the "Way of the Spies;" but whether he be correct or not, it will be seen that there is a possibility of the Amorite Hill-country Road being yet identified in this route. But, as was said at the start, whichever of the two alternative routes be fixed upon, its bearing on the probable site of Kadesh-barnea is practically the same. Kadesh-barnea being somewhere within the 'Azâzimeh mountain block, lying at the base of the southern boundary of the Amorite Hill-country, it would be practicable to reach it from the southeast by such a road as that now suggested by Holland, or from the west by the route which we understand Kedor-la'omer to have taken, and which has hitherto seemed the more natural, and indeed the only, route to its secluded fastnesses.

12. THE BORDER OF EDOM.

When "Moses sent messengers from Kadesh unto the king of Edom," asking permission for the Israelites to pass through his territory on their final move toward Canaan, he said of their location, "Behold, we are in Kadesh, a city in the uttermost of thy border;"[2] and this raises the question, Where was the western border of Edom?

It ought to be noted just here, that the Hebrew word translated "city"[3] does not of necessity involve the idea of a walled town, or even of a town of any sort. Its "signification is of wide ex-

[1] See Holland's reports of his journey, in *Jour. of Vict. Inst.*, Vol. XIV., pp. 2–11, and *Report of Brit. Assoc.*, for 1878, p. 622 *ff.*

[2] Num. 20: 16.

[3] *'eer* (עִיר).

tent, embracing . . . the idea of an encampment,"[1] as well as of a watched and guarded stronghold; "a surrounded place," "a fortified camp."[2]

It is not within the range of probability that the vast host of Israel should have been in a single city, least of all in any city which could have existed in that day on the desert border of Canaan. It is a mistake which scholars have made all the way along in their searching for the route of the Israelites from Egypt to the banks of the Jordan, to look for an identification of any station in the record of the exodus and wanderings in the site of an ancient *city*.[3] In connection with the visits of the Israelites to Kadesh, there is no indication of any capture of a hostile city there, or of any intercourse with the people of a friendly city. But from the prominence given to Kadesh in the military movements of both Kedor-la'omer and the Israelites, it would appear that that place was a natural stronghold, a strategic watching-place on the southern border of Canaan; and it would, therefore, be a most natural way of stating the case, for the Israelites to say to the king of Edom, "We are in Kadesh, a fortified encampment [a hill-surrounded fastness] in the uttermost of thy border." The language recorded is quite consistent with that interpretation.

It is not difficult to locate Edom as a whole, nor is it difficult to say where was its centre, its kernel, its core. The difficulty lies in fixing the western stretch and boundary, at a given time, of a land which clearly had different boundaries at different periods, and which is nowhere described in its precise limitations, either in the Bible, or —prior to the Christian era—in outside history. Yet the difficulty which does exist is not so great as it has been made to appear.

"Edom" and "Seir" are terms which are often used interchangeably as the designation of a region occupied by Esau and

[1] Gesenius, in *Heb. Lex.*, s. v. [2] Fürst, *Heb and Chald. Lex.* s. v.

[3] This point is treated more fully in the Route of the Exodus, *infra*.

his descendants.[1] "Mount Seir," the range of mountains running southward from the Dead Sea, on the east of the 'Arabah, was a main feature of "Edom";[2] but "Seir,"[3] and "the land of Seir,"[4] and "the country [or field] of Edom,"[5] are terms which are clearly not limited to, nor indeed are commonly, if ever, identical with, "Mount Seir" in the Bible text. The practical question for solution is, therefore, What portion of the country at the westward of the 'Arabah was included in "Seir," and in "the country of Edom," in the days of the Israelites' wanderings?

Not only is there no suggestion in the Bible that "Seir" and "the country of Edom" were limited to the "Mount Seir" on the east of the 'Arabah, but the idea of such a limitation, at any period of the history of Edom, does not seem to have entered a human mind until more than thirty centuries after the days of Moses, when it was given shape in an incidental mention by the great geographer Reland,[6] while he was pointing a caution against counting the boundaries of Edom as alike at all periods of history. At the same time, however, Reland recognized the fact that in some way "the region occupied by Edom and his posterity [which is], called in Holy Scripture 'the field of Edom' and 'the land of Seir,' . . . was situated between Egypt and Canaan; so that the southern boundaries of the land [of Canaan], in which was the portion of the tribe of Judah, touched the terminus of the region of Edom." The incidental suggestion of Reland as to the early limits of Edom would probably have had little influence in the field of Bible geography, if it had not been renewed, in another form, by Robinson, a century and more later, as an argument in support of a site which he had fixed upon as that of Kadesh-barnea—which latter place was at the uttermost border of Edom.

[1] See Gen. 32: 3; 36: 1, 8, 9, 19, 21, 43; Num. 24: 18; Deut. 2: 4, 5, 8, 29; Josh. 24: 4.

[2] Gen. 14: 6; 36: 8, 9; Deut. 2: 8; Josh. 24: 4. [3] Gen. 33: 14; Deut. 1: 44.

[4] Gen. 32: 3. [5] Gen. 32: 3. [6] *Palæstina*, p. 66.

Indeed, Robinson himself had held another view than Reland's prior to his fixing of the site of Kadesh-barnea; and in an elaborate series of articles on Idumea, or Edom,[1] not long before his first visit to the Holy Land, he said of the Mount Seir ranging-field of "the children of Esau:" "It is only proper to add here, that it is not necessary to regard the Edomites as wholly confined to this region. It is not improbable that they also had possession, at least occasional, of the mountains and part of the desert *west* of the Ghôr [the 'Arabah]; as we know that at a *later* period they subdued the southern part of Palestine, as far as Hebron; and also made excursions through or around the land of Moab, and became masters of Bozrah."[2] But when Robinson had decided in his own mind that Kadesh-barnea was in the 'Arabah, it became necessary to push back the western boundary of the Edomites to a line within which, he had before seen and said, it was "not necessary" to regard them as "wholly confined;" for, "otherwise," he said, "the Israelites, in journeying three times between Kadesh and Ezion-geber, must have passed twice through Edom; which we know was not permitted."[3]

Here again, as in the case of the desert roads, so capable an explorer as Robinson seems unconsciously to be reasoning in a circle with reference to the location of Kadesh.[4] Having settled it in his own mind that the Israelites passed up the 'Arabah toward Canaan, he fixes on a site in the line of that road as the most probable one for Kadesh.[5] When he sees, however, that their more natural course would have been in another direction, he decides that they could not have taken *that*, because it would not have led them by his Kadesh—which he had selected because it was on the way that, in his opinion, they did take.[6] *His* Kadesh was *the*

[1] In *Bib. Repos.* for April, July, and October, 1833. [2] *Ibid.*, April, p. 250.
[3] Robinson's "Notes on Biblical Geography," in *Bib. Sac.* for May, 1849, p. 380.
[4] See page 82, note, *supra*. [5] Comp. *Bib. Res.*, II., 173–175; 192–195.
[6] See *Bib. Res.*, I., 187.

Kadesh because it was on *their* road toward Canaan. *Their* road must have been *this* road; because otherwise it would not have passed *his* Kadesh, which was *the* Kadesh (Q. E. D.). So about the boundary of Edom. Before he had fixed his Kadesh in the 'Arabah, it was "*not* necessary" to confine the Edomites to the eastward of the 'Arabah; but when he had fixed his Kadesh in the 'Arabah,[1] it *was* necessary to confine the Edomites by that boundary; for Kadesh was at the extremest westward stretch of Edom. Edom must have been limited to the east of the 'Arabah, because Edom was eastward of Kadesh, and his Kadesh, which was the Kadesh, was in the 'Arabah. *His* Kadesh must have been *the* Kadesh, because *the* Kadesh was at the western border of Edom—where *his* Kadesh was located (Q. E. D., once more). At last Robinson actually reasoned himself to the conviction that the view which he once held himself, and which had never been generally abandoned by scholars, was no longer a factor in the problem; and he declared, as if without a thought that his declaration would be questioned by anybody: "Now at that time [in the days of the exodus], *as all agree*, the territory of Edom was limited to the mountains on the east of the 'Arabah."[2]

Because Robinson could safely be followed in so many of his important discoveries and identifications, he has not unnaturally been followed in some of his unconscious errors of identification and reasoning.[3] But in a search for the identification of an unde-

[1] Comp. *Bib. Rep.*, April, 1833, p. 250, and *Bib. Sac.*, May, 1849, p. 379 *f.*

[2] *Bib. Sac.* for May, 1849, p. 380.

[3] It is not to be wondered at that Robinson (whose really great service in the cause of biblical geography has fairly entitled him to be called "the Reland of the Nineteenth Century") should have made more or less errors in his wide and varied identifications; but it is a matter of surprise that some of those errors should still be blindly adhered to, after they have been shown as errors by proofs that Robinson would, if now living, recognize as indisputable. Take, for example, his locating of Eboda at El-'Aujeh (*Bib. Res.*, I., 191). His guides knew that place "only by the name of 'Aujeh," but an Arab who was with him said it "was also called 'Abdeh."

termined site, we should, of course, put aside, for the time being, mere naked opinions, and look to the Bible text as it stands in its integrity, and to any outside helps to the elucidation of that text. So, now, in the matter of the ancient borders of Edom.

The earliest known mention of "Mount Seir" is in the Bible record of Kedor-la'omer's campaign, in the days of Abraham.[1] This was long before the birth of Esau; and it is said that the Horites, or cave-dwellers, were then its inhabitants.[2] These Horites are said to have been the descendants of Seir;[3] but it is

Afterwards that Arab admitted "that he knew this name only from M. Linant, who had visited the place a few years before" (*Bib. Res.*, I., 600). *That* was shaky proof on which to fix an identification; yet it was the best that Robinson could obtain, except that it was supplemented some weeks later by the assurance of "a very intelligent owner of camels," whom Robinson met at Hebron. On the strength of this information, with the seeming correspondence of the ruins with such a place as the ancient Eboda must have been, Robinson declared, "We had no doubt at the time, nor have I now, that these were the ruins of the ancient *Eboda*, or Oboda" (*Bib. Res.*, I., 194); and he even brushed away the suggestion of Seetzen and M. Callier that the real ruins of 'Abdeh were elsewhere, on the ground that "both these latter travelers were [probably] misinformed by their Arab guides" (*Bib. Res.*, I., 600)—instead of taking the word of "a very intelligent owner of camels" at three days' distance from the ruins. After all this, Stewart (*Tent and Khan*, p. 198 *f.*) and Bonar (*Des. of Sinai*, p. 302 *f.*) gained information of the existence of an 'Abdeh as distinct from El-'Aujeh; and finally Palmer visited both places, obtained sketches of them, proved their separateness, established the identification of Abdeh as Eboda (*Des. of Exod.*, II., 348, 386, 407–423); so that to-day there is hardly more reason for a question as to the identification of Eboda than of Hebron. Yet notwithstanding all these later discoveries, Murray's *Handbook for Syria and Palestine* (p. 100, and Map) continues to give El 'Aujeh as both 'Abdeh and Eboda, without so much as an intimation that the Robinson location has ever been brought into question. And this is but a single illustration of the difficulty of correcting at popular sources an error in the statements of "the Reland of the Nineteenth Century."

[1] Gen. 14: 6; Deut. 2: 12.

[2] "The Horites, as the name signifies (Heb. חֹרִי from חוֹר *a hole*, cave), were dwellers in caves; a description of people who were afterwards called by the Greeks *Troglodytes*, Τρωγλοδύται, a word of the same signification as Horites, derived from τρώγλη, a cave." (Robinson, in *Bib. Repos.*, April, 1833, p. 250, note.)

[3] Gen. 36: 20, 21.

not an uncommon thing for a man to have taken his name from the land in which he lived.[1] The earliest known mention of the land of Edom is in the Egyptian records, at about the same period as Abraham's. In the story of Saneha, in the Twelfth Dynasty, as already referred to,[2] there are several mentions of "Atuma," or "Aduma," in such a connection as to point to the identification of this land with ancient Edom; and the subsequent references to "Atuma" and its people in the Egyptian records, all go to justify this identification.[3] This also was long prior to Esau's birth; but it in no degree conflicts with the Bible records of Esau's relations to the names of the lands in which at one time and another he was a dweller.

"Seir" means "rough," "shaggy," "hairy."[4] "Esau" means the same.[5] "Edom" means "red."[6] Esau bore the name "Edom."[7] The mountains of Seir were rough and shaggy. The cliffs of Edom were red.[8] It is in perfect accord with Oriental methods of thought and speech to multiply meanings in a name, and to multiply also the applications of a name in its meaning. Esau was the hairy man;[9] the land of his possession was of a rough and shaggy front.[10] Esau was called Edom, the Red Man; he was the man of red hair,[11] the man of the red land, and the

[1] See page 56, note, *supra*. [2] See page 46, *f.*, *supra*.

[3] See *Rec. of Past*, VI., 135–150; also Lenormant and Chevallier's *Anc. Hist. of East*, II., 148, 290; and Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 146 *ff.*

[4] *Sa'eer* (שָׂעִיר), "hairy," "shaggy," "rough." (Gesenius and Fürst, *s. v.*)

[5] *'Esaw* (עֵשָׂו), "hirsute," "hairy." (*Ibid.*)

[6] *Edhom.* (אֱדוֹם), "red." (*Ibid.*) [7] Gen. 36: 1, 8, 19.

[8] The very name "Red Sea" is supposed by many to have been taken from the bordering red cliffs of Edom.

[9] "Esau my brother is a hairy man." (Gen. 27: 11.)

[10] "The name may either have been derived from Seir the Horite, ... or, what is perhaps more probable, from the rough aspect of the whole country." (Porter, in *Smith-Hackett Bib. Dic.*, s. v. "Seir.") See also any description of Mount Seir.

[11] "Red, all over like an hairy garment; and they called his name Esau." (Gen. 25: 25.)

man of a red choice:[1] "Therefore was his name called Edom" —three times over. And wherever Esau-Edom lived at any time, that land would naturally be called "the land of Seir," and "the field of Edom." And so it was, according to the Bible story.

When Esau had foolishly surrendered his birthright interest in Canaan,[2] and had lost the blessing which by Oriental custom belonged to the first-born,[3] another possession was promised to him by his aged father,[4] and God confirmed that inheritance to Esau in Mount Seir of Edom.[5] But Esau did not remove to his new possession until after the death of his father.[6] Meantime Jacob was away from that region,[7] and Esau remained near his father, occupying the parental domain, which could not as yet pass into the hands of the son who had purchased the first-born's share in its entail.

Esau married and had children long before he permanently left his old home near Beersheba.[8] In the more than twenty years of Jacob's absence, Esau's families and flocks and herds were increased to him; and in the enfeebled and helpless state of the father, the resident son must have come into larger prominence, according to Oriental usage,[9] so that it is not to be wondered at that the region

[1] "Esau said to Jacob, Feed me, I pray thee, with that same red pottage; for I am faint; therefore was his name called Edom." (Gen. 25: 30.)

[2] Gen. 25: 27–34; Heb. 12: 16, 17. [3] Gen. 27: 1–33. [4] Gen. 27: 34–40.

[5] Deut. 2: 5; Josh. 24: 4. [6] Comp. Gen. 35: 27–29, and Gen. 36: 1–8.

[7] Gen. 27: 41–45; 28: 5; 32: 3, 4. [8] Gen. 26: 34, 35; 28: 6–9.

[9] An Oriental father gains reflected honor in the prominence and successes of his sons. He even changes his own name in such a way as to include his eldest son's name, in order to swell the glory of the family of which he is the head. Even where a man is childless he sometimes receives, by courtesy, in the East, the name of father of a hypothetical son; or in some way the fatherhood idea is attached to his name. (See *e. g.* Jessup's *Syrian Home Life*, p. 99, f., and Thomson's *Land and Book*, I., 475.) An illustration of this is given in the case of Abraham. While he was yet childless he was called "Ab-ram," "Father of Exaltation." He was uplifted in the minds of his fellows as one worthy to be a father. But God gave him a promise of real children; and as he did so he added (Gen. 17: 5): "Neither shall thy name any more be called Ab-ram, but thy name shall be Ab-raham, "Father of a Multitude," ["Aboo-ruhâm," as the Arabs might write]; for a father of many nations have I

over which Esau extended his patriarchal stretch came to be known as "the land of Seir" [or Esau], and "the country [or field] of Edom."[1]

There was where Esau was living when Jacob came back from Padan-aram; for Isaac was not yet dead, and it was not until after his death that Esau removed to Mount Seir.[2] And the record shows, that as Jacob was returning toward Hebron, he "sent messengers before him to Esau his brother, unto *the land of Seir, the field of Edom*."[3] If indeed Esau had been off in *Mount* Seir at that time, Jacob would hardly have anticipated a meeting with him on his way to Hebron. And when the brothers had met, Jacob spoke of himself as journeying by easy stages toward the home of Esau, in Seir—Esau's present "Seir," not Esau's prospective "Mount Seir." "I will lead on softly," he said, "according as the cattle that goeth before me and the children be able to endure, until I come unto my lord unto Seir."[4] This was obviously no deceitful subterfuge on Jacob's part. He did not begin his new life as "Israel," after his night of eventful wrestling,[5] with a lie to his brother Esau. He meant what he said. He would move slowly toward Esau's home—the land of Seir, as it was now called. It was Esau's land by possession; it was Jacob's land by purchased birthright; it was as yet their father Isaac's land in reality. Jacob might safely call it Isaac's by courtesy, as everybody now called it, in accordance with Oriental custom.

"So Esau returned that day on his way unto Seir,"[6] not unto Mount Seir, but unto his land of Seir; and Jacob followed

made thee." And that new name made all the difference in the world in Abraham's position before the world—in the East. Thus, according to Eastern customs, Isaac might well have called himself Aboo-Esau, "Father of Esau;" hence it is not strange that the name of Esau was uplifted in the region where he dwelt with his father.

[1] Gen. 32: 3. The word here translated "country" is *sadheh* (שָׂדֶה). It means "field," rather than "province" or "kingdom."

[2] See Gen. 35: 27–29; 36: 1–8. [3] Gen. 32: 3.

[4] Gen. 33: 14. [5] Gen. 32: 24–32. [6] Gen. 33: 16.

by easy stages to Shechem,[1] and Bethel,[2] and southward until the brothers were once more near each other, at Hebron[3] and below, in the neighborhood of their childhood's home and of the outstretching domain of Esau's, there to remain in filial and fraternal accord until after their father's death and burial.[4]

That the removal of Esau to his divinely assured possessions in Mount Seir was not during the absence of Jacob in Padan-aram, is apparent on the face of the text, and it is evidenced by a number of confirmatory proofs. The mention of Esau's removal follows immediately on the mention of Isaac's death and burial.[5] Not until then was there any reason for Esau's leaving his bartered birthright inheritance. Moreover, it is distinctly said, that Esau "went into the country [of Mount Seir, when he did go there] *from the face of his brother Jacob.*"[6] If Jacob were then living in Padan-aram, his face would hardly have crowded Esau out of lower Canaan. And a reason for Esau's going "from the face of his brother Jacob" just then was, that "their riches were more than that they might dwell together; and the land wherein they were strangers [sojourners] could not bear them because of their cattle."[7] But if there was not even one of Jacob's brown sheep, or ring-streaked or spotted goats,[8] within two hundred miles of Hebron and Beersheba, how could they fill up the possessions of Isaac so that Esau must look elsewhere for pasturage? Yet then it was—and even until the very day of Jacob's return—that Esau was a dweller in "the land of Seir, the country of Edom;"[9] not the Mount Seir, or the Edom which was the equivalent of Mount Seir.

This designation, of the land of Esau's occupancy in Southern Canaan, by the name of "Seir," which existed at the time of Jacob's return from Padan-aram, was never lost to it. It was

[1] Gen. 33: 17–20. [2] Gen. 35: 1–8. [3] Gen. 35: 27.
[4] Gen. 35: 28, 29. [5] See Gen. 35: 27–29; 36: 1–8. [6] Gen. 36: 6.
[7] Gen. 36: 7. [8] Gen. 30: 25–43. [9] Gen. 32: 1–3.

found there when the Israelites made their unauthorized raid northward from Kadesh-barnea. "And the Amorites, which dwelt in that mountain," said Moses, "came out against you, and chased you, as bees do, and destroyed you in Seir."[1] Josephus says that this dwelling-place of Esau at the time of Jacob's return was a region "which he had called Roughness, from his own hairiness."[2] And, as will be fully shown, the traces of that name "Seir" are to be found there to-day. This Seir, it is to be noted, was within the boundaries of Canaan proper. But south of Canaan, outside its boundary, the name of "Edom" seems to have extended along some distance westward of the 'Arabah from a very early period, certainly before the days of Israel's occupancy of Canaan. It must have included the northeastern portion of the 'Azâzimeh mountain tract, where was the Wilderness of Zin as we have identified it; hence it is not to be wondered at that Kadesh-barnea, within that tract, is said to be an encircled stronghold on the western border of Edom.

To the present time there remain traces of the old name of "Seir" in the region southeastward from Beersheba, and yet northward of the natural southern boundary line of the Land of Canaan. The extensive plain "Es-Seer" is there,[3] corresponding with the name and location of the "Seir"[4] in which, or out of which,[5] the Israelites were chased by the Amorites when they went up in foolhardiness from their Kadesh-barnea stronghold.[6] An

[1] Deut. 1: 44. [2] *Antiquities*, Book I., Chap. 20, § 3.

[3] See Rowlands, in Williams's *Holy City*, p. 488 *f.*; Palmer's *Des. of Exod.*, II., 404.

[4] Deut. 1: 44.

[5] The Septuagint, Peshitto Syriac, and Vulgate (at Deut. 1: 44) read "*from* Seir," instead of "*in* Seir;" but this does not affect the location of the place itself; it only touches the question whether the slaughter of the Israelites was confined to Seir, or extended beyond it.

[6] This identification of Es-Seer, as the place referred to in Deut. 1: 44, is approved by Ritter (*Geog. of Pal.*, I., 431); Kurtz (*Hist. of Old Cov.*, III., 209, 294); Keil and

old ruin in the vicinity bears the name of Qasr es-Seer,[1] and again there are seeming traces of the name "Seer," through Sa'eed, in the Wady Sa'eedât not far from there, and in the name of the Arab tribe, Sa'eediyeh, inhabiting the old land of Seir.[2]

That this "Es-Seer" is the "Seir" of the days of Moses and Joshua, and hence also the Seir, as distinct from Mount Seir, of the days of Esau, is shown again by its agreement in location with the Seir of a notable boundary-line landmark in the description of Joshua's conquests in the Land of Promise.[3] "So Joshua took all that land," it is said; "even from the Mount Halak[4] [the Smooth, or Bald Mountain] that goeth up to Seir"[5] in the south of Canaan, "even unto Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon, under Mount Hermon," in the north. Here, plainly, Seir is within the limits of Canaan, northward of the southern landmark known as the Smooth Mountain; and this agrees most accurately with the region as disclosed by modern research.

The plain Es-Seer, already referred to, is bounded on the south by Wady Feqreh,[6] a wady which ascends southwesterly from the

Delitzsch (*Bib. Com. on O. T.*, III., 250 *f.*, 281 *f.*); Kalisch (*Com. on O. T.*, at Gen. 14: 6); Alford (*Genesis*, etc., at 14: 6); Wordsworth (*Bible with Notes*, at Num. 34: 3); *Schaff-Lange Com.* (at Num. 34: 3 and Deut. 1: 44); *Speaker's Com.* (at Num. 14: 45); Wilton (*The Negeb*, pp. 73 note, 198); etc.

[1] See Wilson's *Lands of Bible*, I., 345 *f.* Robinson visited this site, but he seems to have run the two names together, and called it "el-kuscir"—"the little castle." (See *Bib. Res.*, II., 198.) Wilson was an accurate Oriental scholar.

[2] See Wilton's *The Negeb*, p. 198 *f.*

[3] Josh. 11: 15-17; 12: 7, 8.

[4] The Hebrew is *Khalaq* (חָלָק), "smooth," "bald," "bare," as opposed to "hairy," "rough." (See Gesenius and Fürst, *s. v.*) Thus Jacob was a *khalaq* man, and Esau was a *sa'eer* man (Gen. 27: 11). Our King James Version's margin, and most modern English translations, recognise this "Mount Halak" as the Smooth, or Bald, Mountain.

[5] The Smooth Mountain goes up to the Rough Plain; the Bald Slope to the Hairy Crown; *Khalaq* to *Sa'eer*; Jacob's boundary-wall to Esau's early domain.

[6] See Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, II., 178–182; Wilson's *Lands of Bible*, I., 340; Palmer's *Des. of Exod.*, II., 415; etc.

'Arabah, from a point not far south of the Dead Sea, and which separates Palestine proper from the 'Azâzimeh mountain tract, or Jebel Muqrâh group.[1] The northern wall of this wady is a bare and bald rampart of rock, forming a natural boundary as it "goeth up to Seir;" a landmark both impressive and unique, and which corresponds with all the Bible mentions of the Mount Halak.

Canon Williams, accompanying his friend Rowlands, was first among modern travelers to visit and describe this peculiar range. He came toward it from Hebron along "the grand plain called Es-Seer." Of its appearance, as it first met his sight, he says:[2] "Having ascended a ridge, a scene of awful grandeur burst suddenly upon us with such startling effect as to strike us dumb for some moments. We found ourselves standing on a gigantic natural rampart of lofty mountains, which we could trace distinctly for many miles east and west of the spot on which we stood; whose precipitous promontories of naked rock, forming as it were bastions of cyclopean architecture, jutted forth in irregular masses from the mountain barrier into a frightfully terrific wilderness, [the Wilderness of Zin,] stretching far before us towards the south, whose horrors language must fail to describe. It was a confused chaos of chalk, and had the appearance of an immense furnace glowing with white heat, illuminated as it now was by the fierce rays of the sun. There did not appear to be *the least particle of vegetation* in all the dreary waste: all was *drought* and *barrenness* and *desolation*. [The Bald Mountain.] Immediately below was a wide and well-defined valley, called Wady Murreh." This picture of the bare and desolate mountain that goeth up to Seir is the more marked in view of the fact that neither Canon Williams nor

[1] Luther's Version of the Bible renders the references to Mount Halak in Josh. 11: 17 and 12: 7 as "the mountain which divides the land up to Seir." This involves, however, a slightly different Hebrew text.

[2] *Holy City*, p. 487 *f.*

his friend Rowlands identified it with the Mount Halak (they proposing another location for that[1]); yet the former wrote: "We felt no doubt that we were standing on the mountain-barrier of the Promised Land."

Professor Palmer[2] says of this same region; and this again without a suggestion that it was "the Bald Mountain" he was describing: "The view from the top is very impressive; as well as the precipitous cliffs which everywhere meet the eye, huge *jorfs*,[3] mountains in themselves, rise up on either side of the wady [Murrah] bed. The rocks being of limestone, and *not relieved by any verdure*, produce a glare that is most distressing to the eyes."

The very name "Mount Halak"[4]—the Smooth, or Bald, Mountain—seems to be preserved, or re-indicated, in an Arabic synonym "Es-Sufâh,"[5] as the name of a principal pass into Palestine, going up this natural barrier from Wady Feqreh to the plain Es-Serr, or Seir, northward.[6] Freytag[7] defines "Es-Sufâh" as meaning "the hard, dense rock which bears no vegetation"[8]—smooth and bald. There is a remarkable unity in the reports of travelers as to the correspondence of this mountain-side pass with the Scriptural boundary mark of "the Mount Halak;" a unity all the more remarkable in that not one of them has seemed to have in mind this seemingly self-evident identification.

Robinson[9] speaks of this "ascent to Seir" as "a formidable

[1] See *Holy City*, p. 491.

[2] *Des. of Exod.*, II., 406.

[3] "A *jorf*, that is a steep bank formed by the torrent cutting through the soil of the wady-bed" (*Ibid.*, p. 338). See Freytag's *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, s. v.

[4] Heb. הָהָר הֶחָלָק; *hahar he-khalaq*.

[5] الصفاة. The *Speaker's Commentary* (at Num. 34: 3–5) renders this "Nakb es-Safâh," as the "Pass of the Bare Rock."

[6] And the pass next to the east of it is "Es-Sufey," the diminutive of "Es-Sufâh."

[7] In *Arab. Lat. Lex.*, s. v.

[8] *Petra dura, crassa, plantas non producens.*

[9] *Bib. Res.*, II., 178–181.

barrier, a *naked* limestone ridge not less than a thousand feet in height and very steep;" the path over Es-Sufâh being "upon the naked surface of the rock," ascending along "this *bare* rock," which is "in many places *smooth* and dangerous for animals," the camels making "their way with difficulty, being at every moment liable to slip." Von Schubert describes it as "a high, *bald* hill."[1] Lord Lindsay[2] calls it "a precipitous sheet of *bare rock,* alternately *smooth* and *slippery,* and covered with loose stones." Miss Martineau[3] speaks of "the steep slope being *bare* shelvy limestone." Wilson[4] says: "*Not a particle of vegetation was visible on its chalky cliffs,* which appeared like a natural rampart to the land." Olin[5] refers to the slope as "tolerably *smooth,*" but "so steep that it is barely possible for loaded camels to ascend." Durbin[6] is sure that this mountain formed "the southern boundary of Judea." "This mountain wall," is what "El-Mukattem"[7] calls it; and the Pass Sufâh he designates as "a steep, *smooth* rocky surface." "A *slippery* ascent it proved," says Formby.[8] And Caroline Paine's testimony[9] is: "The rocks were too *smooth* to present a very secure foothold for even the cautious camels, and nearly all of those [riders] who generally remained mounted when climbing the rocky passes, preferred trusting to their own feet here."

Is it not clear that this bald and bare northern wall of Wady Feqreh, this natural rampart of Canaan, with its smooth rock passes, Es-Sufâh and Es-Sufey, going up to the plain Es-Seer, is "the Smooth Mountain that goeth up to Seir"—the western land of Seir, in southern Canaan?[10]

[1] *Reise in das Morgenland,* II., 443.
[2] *Letters,* II., 46.
[3] *Eastern Life,* p. 369.
[4] *Lands of Bible,* I., 342.
[5] *Travels,* II., 62.
[6] *Observ. in East,* I., 197.
[7] *Lands of Moslem,* p. 234.
[8] *Visit to East,* p. 321.
[9] *Tent and Harem,* p. 294.
[10] Keil and Delitzsch (*Bib. Com. on O. T.,* VIII, 123), and Kurtz (*Hist. of Old Cov.,* III., 205), incline to this identification; although neither of them has seemed to recognize the significance of the remaining name "Es-Sufâh."

There is a reason which should not be lost sight of for the continuance of the old name of Seir in the south of Canaan after Esau had removed, with all his family, to his divinely assured possession in Mount Seir. Two of the wives of Esau were Canaanites;[1] another wife was of the daughters of Ishmael.[2] The descendants of these wives would naturally have affiliation with the people of their maternal ancestry. Even though Esau took with him all his family and all his substance when he went from Southern Canaan to the region of Mount Seir,[3] it is every way probable that more or less of his descendants of the Canaanitish stock would wander back before long to the fields of their fathers —the fields which they themselves, in some cases, had occupied— west of the Dead Sea and the 'Arabah; and again that some of those who were of Ishmaelitish, hence of Egyptian,[4] stock, would spread themselves along the upper desert, in the Wilderness of Paran, where Ishmael had roamed Egyptward.[5] Indeed, that something like this was the case with the Amalekite posterity of Edom (if, as seems probable, the Amalekites were descended from both Esau and Seir[6]) is evident from the Bible text. They were already down in the mountains of Sinai,[7] and up in the hills of southern Canaan[8] in the days of the exodus.

Two centuries and a half, it must be remembered, had passed, between the occupancy of Mount Seir by Esau and the appearance of the Israelites on the verge of Canaan. This gave time for great changes in the border lines of nomadic tribes. An Egyptian papyrus of the Nineteenth Dynasty—the supposed dynasty of the

[1] Compare Gen. 26: 34; 27: 46; 36: 2.
Concerning the seeming confusion in the several mentions of these wives, see *Smith-Hackett Bib. Dic.*, s. vv. "Adah," "Aholibamah," "Bashemath."

[2] Gen. 28: 9; 36: 3. [3] Gen. 36: 6. [4] Gen. 16: 3, 15.

[5] Gen. 21: 21. [6] Gen. 36: 12, 20, 22. See p. 40, *f*, note, *supra*.

[7] Exod. 17: 8. [8] Num. 14: 45.

exodus—refers to "the Shasoo of the country of Aduma" (the Bed'ween of Edom or Seir) as already at the doors of Lower Egypt, and even as permitted to enter that land as settlers there.[1] And all the indications of the Egyptian records would show that the Edomite Bed'ween roamed freely, at this time, from the 'Arabah to the Delta.

As already stated, the region assured to Esau and his descendants by the divine promise was Mount Seir, the mountain range on the east of the 'Arabah, a region wholly outside of the limits of Canaan—the birthright inheritance bartered to Jacob. The names "Seir," and "field of Edom,"[2] applied, for the reasons noted, to the old ranging-field of Esau in southern Canaan, are not to be confounded with Esau's Mount Seir and the old region of Edom proper as it existed before the days of Esau. But Edom proper seems always to have included, in its westward stretch, the 'Arabah and more or less of the mountain region west of the 'Arabah and southward of the natural boundary line between these mountains and Canaan; southward of Wady Feqreh, with its Azâzimeh, or Muqrâh, mountain-wall standing over against the wall of Mount Halak. This is fairly to be inferred from the Egyptian references to ancient Edom; it is consistent with our earliest knowledge of the bounds of Edom; it is an inevitable deduction from the early Bible mentions of Edom's westward reach.

[1] See a translation from this papyrus in Brugsch's *Dict. Geog.*, p. 642; also *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 247 *f.*

[2] Wilton (*The Negeb*, p. 73, note) points out the fact that the word *sadheh* (שָׂדֶה) translated "field" or "country" (of Edom), refers rather to a cultivated plain than to a rugged mountain, hence it is inapplicable to "Mount Seir;" also that it is the word applied proleptically to the domain of the Amalekites in the record of Kedorla'omer's march (Gen. 14: 7) over this very region. In this light, the "field" of the Amalekite descendants of Edom in the earlier record is the same as the "field" of the ancestor of the Amalekites in the later story.

Various references to the boundary limits of Canaan, in the Bible text, go to show that the southern line of the Land of Promise ran along the western portion of Edom proper. In describing that line, as it passes southwesterly from the Dead Sea starting-point into the Wilderness of Zin, or the 'Azâzimeh mountain tract (running along the Wady Feqreh, which marks the natural boundary of Palestine[1]), the record is, that it shall be "from the Wilderness of Zin, along by the coast of Edom;"[2] or "from the Wilderness of Zin, which resteth upon the side of Edom."[3] Again it is said that "the uttermost [or lower border] cities of the children of Judah toward the coast of Edom southward [or Negebward],"[4] stretched along as far westward as Beersheba—the old home of Esau-Edom. All this is utterly incompatible with the limitations of Edom to the region east of the 'Arabah, but quite consistent with every other indication of the westward reach of Edom into the 'Azâzimeh, or Muqrâh, mountain tract on the west of the 'Arabah, from the very earliest mention of that country until its final annihilation as a distinct power among the peoples of the world.

That the name Edom, in its Greek form "Idumea," extended over the upper desert south of Palestine in the later centuries

[1] Observe the opinions of Williams, Rowlands, Palmer, and others on this point, at pages 95–97, *supra*.

[2] See Num. 34: 1; Josh. 15: 1.

[3] *Speaker's Commentary* rendering. Fries (in *Stud. u. Krit.* for 1854, p. 77) has shown that *'al-yedhee* (עַל־יְדֵי) in Num. 34: 3, rendered in the King James Version "along by the coast of," does not, like *'al-yadh* (עַל־יַד),—as in Exod. 2: 5; Josh. 15: 46; 2 Sam. 15: 2; Dan. 10: 14,—signify contact at a single point, or along a short distance; but means "along the land of," "on a long, yea, the whole stretch," as for instance in Judges 11: 26. This fact in itself would seem sufficient to show that *peath* (פְּאַת), "quarter of," in Num. 34: 3, cannot in this instance (as some have claimed) mean "corner of," if indeed it ever could have that meaning in a land boundary.

[4] Josh. 15: 21–28.

before the Christian era, and subsequently, is abundantly shown by references to it in the Apocrypha, the Talmud, and the writings of Pliny, Josephus, Ptolemy, Jerome, and others.[1] Diodorus Siculus, indeed, speaks of the Dead Sea as in the centre of the satrapy of Idumea.[2] And, as has been already noted, all the geographers down to the days of Reland were at one on this point. So far there is no dispute. The only question raised by any scholar is, whether the westward stretch of Edom beyond the 'Arabah was prior to the period of Judah's captivity.[3] Yet not a particle of evidence is to be found in favor of the westward limitation of ancient Edom by the bounds of the 'Arabah, at any period whatsoever; while both the Bible text and the Egyptian records give proof that there was no such limitation in the days of the conquest of Canaan.

As yet, the precise limits of ancient Edom, westward, cannot be designated with confidence. It is probable, judging from what we know of ancient boundaries generally, that these limits were conformed to some marked natural features of the country. When the Azâzimeh, or Muqrâh, mountain tract shall have been carefully explored, such natural features may be there shown for the marking of the western border of Edom, as have already been pointed out for the southern border of Canaan. Holland had this in his mind on the occasion of his latest visit to the desert; but the same causes which prevented his following up the search for

[1] See Reland's *Pal.*, pp. 66–73; Robinson's "Sketches of Idumea," *Bib. Repos.* for April, 1833, p. 252 *f.*; Conder's Art., "Idumea," in *Encyc. Brit.*, ninth ed.; Porter's Art., "Edom," in *Smith-Hackett Bib. Dic.*

[2] "Κεῖται γὰρ κατὰ μέσην τὴν σατραπείαν τῆς 'Ιδουμαίας." (Bk. 19, chap. 96.)

[3] Dean Stanley says (*Sinai and Pal.*, p. 94, note): "To represent Edom as extending west of the 'Arabah in the time of Moses, is an anachronism, borrowed from the times after the Captivity, when the Edomites, driven from their ancient seats, occupied the 'South' of Judea as far as Hebron; 1 Macc. 5: 65." But this charge of anachronism will hardly rest against Moses himself, and the scribes of Meneptah.

the site of Kadesh-barnea stood in the way of his exploring the region in question for the settlement of Edom's boundary line. Yet he made a suggestion which may yet prove a valuable one. Finding the natural break in the southwestern corner of that great mountain tract, as already mentioned,[1] he was led to believe that the wady-roadway passing up northerly through the mountains toward the southern border of Palestine "formed the western boundary of Edom."[2] However this may prove to be in the light of future explorations, it is evident that the uttermost border of Edom in that direction lay somewhere within that mountain tract; and that, therefore, Kadesh-barnea was also there.[3] And this is in further confirmation of all that we have before learned of the probable site of Kadesh.

13. A SWEEP TO GAZA.

An incidental mention of Kadesh-barnea as a landmark in Joshua's progress in the conquest of Canaan, will be seen to conform very well with the other indications of its location. Joshua had captured Lachish and Eglon in southwestern Canaan.[4] Then, pushing eastward, "Joshua went up from Eglon, and all Israel with him, unto Hebron; and they fought against it: and they took it."[5] And so the old home of their ancestors, with the graves of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, was fairly in the possession of the Israelites. There is certainly no doubt about the location of Hebron. That site is fixed beyond a peradventure.

And from Hebron "Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, to Debir; and fought against it; and he took it, and the king thereof, and all the cities thereof [all the enclosures, or strong-

[1] See page 82 *f*, *supra*.

[2] See Holland's report of his journey, in *Report of Brit. Assoc.* for 1878, p. 622 *ff*.

[3] Num. 20: 16.

[4] Josh. 10: 31-35.

[5] Josh. 10: 36, 37.

holds,[1] thereof]; . . . as he had done to Hebron, so he did to Debir." As Joshua had been moving eastward to Hebron, his return from Hebron could not have been by moving farther eastward or southeastward, it must have been by a westerly or a southwesterly course; hence Debir (or, Debeer) is to be sought in that direction from Hebron. And there Debir has been fairly identified.

Debir is a noteworthy place on many accounts. Its more ancient name is said to have been Kirjath-sepher,[2] or Book-town, or City of Books;[3] and again Kirjath-sannah,[4] or City of Instruction;[5] indicating its prominence as a literary and religious centre. Its later name, Debir,[6] is a term sometimes applied to the inner sanctuary of a temple, or the seat of a sacred oracle. And the reference to its outlying strongholds [" cities "], and to its exceptionally secure fastnesses, would seem to show it as a military position of importance. After Joshua's first capture of it, it seems to have been retaken by the sons of Anak, or other formidable

[1] The Hebrew word is *'eer* (עִיר), an "enclosed place," as already shown (see page 83, *supra*). It is not to be supposed that there were separate "cities" connected with Debir; but it is probable that there were outlying "enclosures."

[2] Josh. 10: 38, 39; 15: 15; Judges 1: 11.

[3] As to this meaning there is no question. See Gesenius and Fürst, *s. vv.* "Qirjath," "Sepher."

[4] Josh. 15:49.

[5] Grove (*Smith-Hackett Bib. Dic.*, s. v. "Debir") and Thomson (*South. Pal.*, Land and Book), and some others, render this "City of the Palm;" but Schröder (*Die Phönizische Sprache*, p. 8, note) shows its most probable meaning as "City of the Law;" as the Arabic *sinnah*, "the Law," would indicate. The Septuagint translates both names, Qirjath-sepher as well as Qirjath-sannah, by "City of Letters." Nor is Schröder alone in this rendering.

[6] It is a word from a root of varied significations. See Gesenius and Fürst, *s. v.* "Debeer." Its root meanings include "behind," "inner," "to speak," etc.; hence it is applied to the inner sanctuary of a temple (see 1 Kings 6: 5, 19, 22; 8: 6–8; 2 Chron. 3: 16; 4: 7–9); or again to the oracle speaking from the sanctuary.

inhabitants of Canaan;[1] for it was then that Caleb deemed it a prize worthy of the best efforts of the most heroic, and said: "He that smiteth Kirjath-sepher, and taketh it, to him will I give Achsah my daughter to wife."[2] And Othniel, who took the city and won its reward, was afterwards a judge of Israel,[3] while his city became a city of the priests.[4]

Various sites have been suggested for ancient Debir; nearly all of them, however, within a few miles range, and all of them westerly or southwesterly of Hebron.[5] Of late the identification at Dhahareeyeh, a somewhat remarkable village on the road from Hebron to Beersheba has gained confidence, and now has general acceptance. Knobel[6] was perhaps the first to point to this identification, and Conder,[7] Tristram,[8] and Thomson,[9] strengthened its claims to approval. Robinson,[10] Wilson,[11] Ritter,[12] and Palmer,[13] had, before this, emphasized the importance of the site of the ruins of Dhahareeyeh. It is at the junction of the two great roads; that from Hebron to Gaza, and that from Hebron to the desert and to Egypt—the "Way of Shur." "A castle or fortress apparently once stood here," says Robinson; "the remains of a square tower are still to be seen, now used as a dwelling; and the doorways of many hovels are of hewn stone with arches. It would seem to have been one of the line of small fortresses, which apparently once existed all along the southern border of Palestine."

It is a remarkable fact that to the present day Dhahareeyeh is counted the border town of Palestine. The Teeyâhah Arabs who

[1] Comp. Josh. 10: 38, 39, and Josh. 15: 13-15.
[2] Josh. 15: 16, 17. [3] Judges 3: 9-11. [4] Josh. 21: 9-15.
[5] *Smith-Hackett Bib. Dic.*, s. v., "Debir"; *Schaff-Lange Com.* at Josh. 10: 38.
[6] As cited in Lange, as above. [7] *Tent Work in Pal.*, II., 93.
[8] *Bible Places*, p. 61. [9] *South. Pal.* (Land and Book), p. 299 *f.*
[10] *Bib. Res.*, I., 209-11. [11] *Lands of Bible*, I., 349-354.
[12] *Geog. of Pal.*, III., 193, 288 *f.* [13] *Des. of Exod.*, II., 394-396.

convoy the traveler from Castle Nakhl toward Hebron are unable to carry him by Dhahareeyeh; unless, indeed, a new agreement is made at that point, by the payment for Dhahareeyeh horses to Hebron, at an added cost beyond the hire of the Teeyâhah camels. As Ritter states it[1]: "The first place of any importance in Palestine is the village ed-Dhoherîyeh, five or six hours southwest of Hebron [Robinson called it four hours. I found it about four and a half]. It derives its interest from the fact that here converge the west road leading through Wadi es-Seba and Beersheba, the great highway to Gaza and Egypt, and the great eastern road from Petra and Sinai." Palmer[2] calls attention to the fact that "Murray's Handbook"[3] says of this important site: "There is nothing here either to interest or detain the traveler;" and he adds: "But . . . we found it, on the contrary, a very interesting place. The dwellings consist for the most part of caves cut in the natural rock, some of them having rude arches carved over the doorways, and all of them being of great antiquity. . . They are exactly like what the old Horite dwellings must have been, and have doubtless been inhabited by generation after generation, since the days of that now forgotten race."

Conder and Thomson would find a resemblance in the meanings of Dhahareeyeh and Debeer. The latter says: "The Arabic name, edh-Dhoherîyeh, may be translated 'ridge' or 'promontory,' and hence this signification corresponds with its position, and also with the meaning of the word."[4] Yet Robinson (or Eli Smith[5]) renders the word as "noon." In fact the Arabic root of this word is as varied in its significations as its Hebrew correspondent, Debeer. It means "back," "behind," "backbone," "ridge," "road through the desert," "summer-noon," "to conquer," "to disclose," etc.[6]

[1] *Geog. of Pal.*, III., 193. [2] *Des. of Exod.*, II., 39 *f.* [3] *Syria and Pal.*, p. 99.
[4] *South. Pal.* (Land and Book), p. 300. [5] *Bib. Res.*, III., 208, first ed.
[6] See Freytag's *Lex. Arab. Lat.*, s. v. ظهر.

Hence, while the correspondence of *name* is not such as to be in itself conclusive, there is enough else to render it more than probable that the important site of Dhahareeyeh is also the site of the important ancient Debir; and a similarity in the names can easily be found. Yet Dhahareeyeh as it is to-day, with its mud walls, and its wretched people, its multitude of dogs, and its many myriads of fleas, has little to suggest the military stronghold, the literary centre, the sacred metropolis, which once existed there. But herein is an illustrative contrast between the Land of Promise as it was, and as it is.

And from Hebron to Debir and beyond, Joshua swept on in his conquering march. "So Joshua smote all of the hills [the hill-country of Judah], and of the south [the Negeb], and of the vale [the Shephelah], and of the springs ['the upper springs and the nether springs,' which were added to Achsah's dowry (Josh. 15: 17–19), near Debir]. . . . And Joshua smote them from Kadesh-barnea even unto Gaza."[1] The only consistent explanation of this statement is, that Joshua moved along southwesterly from Hebron to Debir and Kadesh-barnea; from Hebron to the southernmost point of the southern boundary-line of Canaan,[2] and thence onward toward Gaza and the sea-coast. And this explanation coincides with all that has before been shown as to the location of Kadesh-barnea.

14. THE PROMISED LAND'S SOUTHERN BOUNDARY.

And now for the various mentions of Kadesh-barnea as a boundary-line landmark in the Bible story. Both in the incidental references to, and in the detailed descriptions of, the southern boundary of the Promised Land as a whole, and again of the possessions of the tribe of Judah (before the portion of Simeon was taken from them), the location of Kadesh-barnea conforms to the indica-

[1] Josh. 10: 40, 41. [2] Num. 34: 4.

tions already noted, at the same time that it is fixed yet more definitely.

In Numbers 34 : 3–5, Moses declares, from Jehóvah, to the Israelites : "Your south quarter [or, side] shall be [or, extend] from the Wilderness of Zin along by the coast [or, boundary] of Edom [or, which resteth upon the side of Edom]." This general statement of the southern boundary line is followed by a closer description of its salient points. "And your south border shall be [or, shall start from] the outmost coast [or, the extremity] of the Salt Sea [the Dead Sea] eastward [or, on the east]; and your border shall turn from [or, on] the south to [or, of] the Ascent of Akrabbim, and [shall] pass on to Zin [or, Zinward]; and the going forth thereof shall be from the south [or, the extent of its reach on the south shall be] to Kadesh-barnea [or, south of Kadesh-barnea], and shall go on [or, shall reach forth thence] to Hazar-addar [or, the village, or settlement, of Addar], and shall pass on to Azmon [or, 'Azmonward]; and the border shall fetch a compass from Azmon unto [or, from 'Azmon the border shall turn to] the river of Egypt [or, Wady-of-Egypt-ward], and the goings out of it shall be at [or, its reach shall be to] the [Mediterranean] Sea [or, seaward]."

In Joshua 15 : 1–4, this southern boundary line[1] is re-described with more particularity : "To the border [or, boundary] of Edom, the wilderness of Zin southward was [or, as] the uttermost part of the south coast." Or, as some would read this : "On the south, to the border of Edom [their boundary was], the wilderness of Zin, from the extremity of Teman."[2] This general description is followed, as in Numbers, by a detailed one : "And their

[1] The southern boundary of Judah was also the southern boundary of the Land of Promise as a whole.

[2] So, the Arabic translator and Houbigant, as quoted and followed by Geddes, in his Revision, *in loco ;* also the Latin Revision of Sebastian Schmidt. This point will be fully considered farther on.

south border [or southern boundary] was from the shore [or, end] of the Salt Sea, from the bay [or, tongue] that looketh [or, turneth, or, bendeth] southward [or, Negebward]; and it went out to the south side to Maaleh-acrabbim [or, to the southern boundary of the Ascent of 'Acrabbim], and passed along to Zin [or, Zinward], and ascended up on the south side unto [or, along the south of] Kadesh-barnea, and passed along [or, over] to Hezron, and went up to Adar, and fetched a compass [or, turned itself] to Karkaa; from thence it passed toward Azmon [or, 'Azmonward], and went out unto the river [or wady] of Egypt; and the goings out of that coast [or, the terminations of the boundary] were at the Sea [or, were seaward]."[1]

Now let us follow out this boundary line description in the light of present knowledge of the region in question. It is to be borne in mind that this is the *southern* boundary, not the *eastern* one; hence it must be understood as running, or inclining, westerly from its very start. The eastern boundary of the Promised Land ends at the southern extremity of the Dead Sea;[2] and there the southern boundary begins its westerly course.

The southern end of the Dead Sea is not a fixed point; for the extension of water in that direction varies greatly at different times;[3]

[1] From the very nature of the Hebrew language, the original description of this boundary line is somewhat vague in its phrasing; but not so as seriously to becloud its meaning. The alternative readings given above are all justified by competent scholars; most of them, indeed, are quite generally agreed on; as may be seen by referring to the *Septuagint*, *Critici Sacri*, Pool's *Synop. of Crit.*, *Speaker's Com.*, *Schaff-Lange Com.*, Keil and Delitzsch's *Bib. Com.* Knobel's *Exeget. Handb.*, Horsley's *Bib. Crit.*, Geddes', Sharpe's, Wellbeloved's and Leeser's Revisions, Bush's *Notes on Num.*, Crosby's *Notes on Josh.*, etc.

[2] Num. 34: 10–12; Josh. 15: 5.

[3] Lieut. Lynch (*Expedition to Jordan and Dead Sea*, p. 309) says: "The southern end of the sea . . . is ever varying, extending south from the increased flow of the Jordan, and the efflux of the torrents in winter, and receding with the rapid evaporation, consequent upon the heat of summer."

See also Irby and Mangles's *Travels*, p. 353 *f.*; Van de Velde's *Syrien u. Pal.*, II., 136 *f.*; Tristram's *Land of Israel*, pp. 300, 331, 337.

but it is sufficiently definite for a starting point of an extensive boundary line.[1] Leaving the southern end of the Dead Sea, the boundary line moves westerly. The first landmark noted in that direction is a hill range designated as the Ascent of 'Akrabbim; or the Ascent, or the Pass, of Scorpions, as it is commonly understood. Looking westerly from the southern end of the Dead Sea, what range would seem to meet the requirement of this designation? *South* of the Dead Sea, at a distance of eight miles, more or less, is a "line of cliffs crossing the whole Ghôr, and constituting merely the ascent to the higher plane of the 'Arabah;"[2] or, possibly forming a natural barrier to the encroaching waters of the Dead Sea, at their greatest height.[3] "In the absence of any better suggestion," Robinson was "inclined to regard" this cliff-range as the Ascent of 'Akrabbim; and in this suggested identification, as in many another, Robinson has been generally followed by subsequent writers. But this low line of cliffs, this mere basin-wall,[4] is directly south of the southern end of the Dead Sea, if, indeed, it is not itself the boundary of the tongue of that sea; and it does not seem to be in the line of a *southern*

[1] De Saulcy (*Dead Sea*, I., 250 *f.*) would identify the peninsula on the east shore of the Dead Sea, which is known as El-Lisân (the Tongue), with "the tongue that turneth southward" in this description. But although the name itself would seem to give weight to this suggestion, Grove has pointed out (in *Smith-Hackett Bib. Dic.*, Art. "Salt Sea") the fact that the Hebrew word *lashon* (לָשׁוֹן) here rendered "tongue," is in two other instances (Josh. 15: 5; 18: 19) applied to the upper end of the Dead Sea, and clearly means a tongue of water, not of land; also that the term "Lisân" is probably given to only the southern portion of the peninsula which verges on the tongue of the sea southward. In Isaiah 11: 15, *lashon* is applied to the "tongue" or arm of "the Egyptian sea." Thus we see that in the three places where the meaning of this word in the Bible text is obvious, it is applied to a tongue of *water;* and it is certainly fair to give it that meaning in the fourth instance.

[2] *Bib. Res*, II., 120.

[3] See Irby and Mangles's *Travels*, p 353.

[4] Indeed if the Dead Sea were at its greatest height, these "cliffs" would be at the water's edge; and then what would the "scorpions" do for a climbing place?

boundary. It would certainly be well to look for a "better suggestion."[1]

It has already been shown[2] that the apparent natural boundary of Canaan, or Palestine, on the south, is the mountain-range which forms the northern wall of Wady Feqreh; "the Bald Mountain that goeth up to Seir."[3] It is certainly reasonable to suppose that this natural boundary is designated in this instance, as in the other,[4] in the description of the southern coast of the Land of Promise; especially when the description here accurately conforms to this prominent landmark.

To one looking from the southern end of the Dead Sea,[5] the open mouth of this Wady Feqreh shows itself prominently,—in a southwesterly direction,—between the southern end of Khashm Usdum (the Hill of Sodom, sometimes called the Salt Mountain,) on the right hand, and the northern or northwestern end of the low basin-wall to which Robinson has called attention, on the left hand. A southern boundary-line, which is to run westerly, and which is to pass south of,[6] rather than over, the designated Ascent of 'Akrabbim, would therefore properly be supposed to enter this great dividing wady, which runs south of the already recognized

[1] A crowning illustration of Robinson's controlling influence over modern scholarship in his field, is given in his ability to induce so many to accept his suggestion that a *southern* boundary runs *north and south*. The English-speaking world has been almost a unit on this point since he made the suggestion as his only way of adapting the Bible record to his site of Kadesh-barnea; although he did not even proffer an argument in its support.

[2] See pages 95–97, *supra*.

[3] Josh. 11: 17; 12: 7.

[4] The references to this mountain-wall, in Joshua, would seem to indicate it as the southern limit of "all that land, the hills, and all the South Country."

[5] See the Map of Dead Sea, in Tristram's *Land of Israel*.

[6] Keil and Delitzsch (*Bib. Com.*, IV. 151) render Joshua 15: 3, "To the southern boundary of the ascent of Akrabbim." See, also *Schaff-Lange Bib. Com.*, in loco. Horsley (*Bib. Crit.*) renders Num. 34: 4, "And your southern border shall go round by the Hills of Scorpions." Geddes (Revision) renders it, "Winding about the south side of Akrabbim."

southern coast-wall of the land to be bounded. In this case, the Ascent of 'Akrabbim might be looked for along the northern wall of Wady Feqreh—the Bald Mountain wall. The Pass es-Sufâh, already named as a principal pass of that wall-rampart, has been suggested,[1] with some show of probability, as the Ascent of 'Akrabbim;[2] yet the more westerly Pass el-Yemen, up the same hillside, has, perhaps, superior claims to this identification, both in its position and in its name—as will be seen in its farther examination. It is possible that in the days of the exodus the range as a whole was known as the Mount Halak, and its westerly pass as the Ascent of 'Akrabbim.

Even the word "'Akrabbim" may have had reference to the characteristics of the Ascent, or Pass, or Maaleh; characteristics which are evident to-day as always. The word is commonly translated "Scorpions," and the suggestion is that scorpions abounded there. But while the Hebrew root is not entirely clear, it seems to have the idea of "wounding the heel,"[3] which is the work of both the scorpion and the serpent;[4] and from that point the Hebrew root and its Arabic correspondents run out into various meanings, including "scorpion," "scourge," "striking," "cutting off," "centre," "defile," "mountain pass." It was long ago suggested that the Ascent of 'Akrabbim was rather a descriptive designation than a proper name; that it indicated a serpentine or sinuous ascent; a way that winds and twists scorpion-like.[5] It

[1] See Rowlands, in *Imp. Bib. Dic.*, s. v., "Moserah"; Knobel's *Exeget. Handb.*, at Josh. 15: 3: and *Speaker's Com.*, at Num. 34: 4.

[2] The reference to "Akrabattine," in Idumea, in 1 Macc. 5: 3, would seem to correspond with this view.

[3] Gesenius, (*Heb. Lex.*, s. v. "'*Aqrab*") thinks that it is "compounded from '*aqar* (עָקַר) 'to wound,' and '*aqeb* (עָקֵב) 'heel.'"

[4] "Thou shalt bruise his [man's] heel," is God's prophecy to the serpent in Eden (Gen. 3: 15.)

[5] See citations in Pool's *Synops. Crit.*, from Vatablus, Emanuel Sá, and Mariana, of say three centuries ago. Fürst (*Heb. and Chald. Lex.*, s. v. "'Aqrab") finds the idea of a sinuous course in the word itself.

is a noteworthy fact that Robinson says[1] of a similar difficult ascent at another point: "The ascent is called simply en-Nukb, or el-'Arkûb, both signifying 'the pass' up a mountain; and our guides knew no other name. The road rises by zig-zags along the projecting point of a steep ridge, between two deep ravines." The word 'Arkûb, or 'Arqoob, here used, is apparently from the same root as 'aqrab. Its meaning is given[2] not only as "a tortuous wady course," and "a mountain defile,"[3] but as the proper name of an Amalekite "celebrated for breaking and eluding his promises" —slipping and twisting from the straight way of veracity.[4]

This Pass el-Yemen is the more commonly used pass, up the Bald Mountain border of Palestine. It was described first, in modern times, by Seetzen,[5] in 1807. Robinson[6] says of it, in comparison with the two passes eastward of it: "Of the three passes, that of Es-Sufâh is the most direct; but that of El-Yemen, though the way is longer, is more used on account of the water at the top;" good water being there found in unfailing supply: and of course a water supply would always give the pre-eminenee to a pass on the desert border. The location of the Pass el-Yemen is, northward, over against the supposed westerly stretch of the land of Edom,[7] or the Dukedom of Teman,[8] and its Arabic name, El-

[1] *Bib. Res.*, I., 175.

[2] Freytag's *Lex. Arab. Lat.*, s. v.

[3] There is apparently a root connection with this word 'Arqoob, in the name 'Aqaba, meaning "a descent or steep declivity," which is applied to "the long and difficult descent of the Haj route from the western mountain" toward the gulf which has received the name 'Aqabah from this reason. (See Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, I., 171; Stanley's *Sinai and Pal.*, pp. 10, 84; Winer's *Bib. Realwörterb.*, s. v. "Elath.")

[4] Pococke (*Descrip. of East*, II., 1, 123) refers to the "Acrabane or *Serpentine* River, which goes out of the Barrady in the field of Damascus." And this mention is noted by Koehler in his annotations to Ibn ol Wardi's "De Terra Syriæ," (in Abulfeda's *Tab. Syr.*, p. 175.) The river referred to is Nahr el-Aqrabâni (See Baedeker's *Pal. and Syr.*, p. 48.)

[5] *Reisen* III., 7-14; also in Zach's monatl. Corr. XVII., pp. 133-138, as cited by Robinson.

[6] *Bib. Res.* II., 182.

[7] See pages, 100-102, *supra*.

[8] See page 107, *supra*; also Gen. 36: 9-15.

Yemen ("the right hand,") has a meaning correspondent with the Hebrew name Teman ("at the right hand.") Moreover, it is just southward of that Pass el-Yemen that a turn would naturally be made in a boundary line that had followed the border of Edom and was to hinge for a yet more southerly stretch in its onward sweep; for standing out all by itself in the wady which is being followed as the boundary line, or rather at the confluence of two other wadies with that one, there is a notable mountain, Jebel Madurah, around the northwestern side of which the boundary line would turn to move on to its southernmost point, conformably to the directions already quoted from the Bible text. As it is the boundary line of Canaan which is being described, the turning point is naturally noted on the *Canaan* line rather than on the mountain below it; but the one conforms to the other.

In addition to all this, there seems to be a trace of the old name 'Akrabbim still attached to the Pass el-Yemen. Wilson,[1] who went up the Pass el-Yemen understood from the Arabs that its name was "Wadi er-Rakib," although he afterwards thought that they might have said "Arkûb." But Robinson[2] had before this been told of a Pass er-Râkib in that direction, although he did not find it, or learn more about it. In either form of the word[3] there is an apparent trace of the name 'Akrabbim.

This Pass el-Yemen, or er-Râkib, or Arqoob, is described[4] as "a deep rent" in the western end of the lofty Bald Mountain,[5] a

[1] *Lands of Bible*, I., 341.   [2] *Bib. Res.* I., 208.

[3] The transposition of consonants is very common in Semitic languages; so that often an anagram fairly gives a trace of a word which can be formed of its consonants. On this point, see Rödiger-Davidson's *Gesenius's Heb. Gram.*, chap. II., § 19 (5.) Nor is the substitution of a *Kaf* (as in Rakib) for a *Qaf* (as in 'Arqoob) at all uncommon.

[4] Robinson's *Bib. Res.* II., 178–182.

[5] "Here [at this chasm, El-Yemen] the higher portion of the ridge [of the barrier wall of Palestine] may be said to terminate; for although it continues to run on far to the southwest, yet it is there lower and less steep." (Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, II., 178.)

"chasm" which "cleaves the mountain to its base." The "ascent" enters "the gorge of Wady el-Yemen; and following it up for a time, then climbs the wall of rock by a steep and difficult path. Seetzen[1] describes this wady as a frightfully wild, deep, and desert valley, strewed with large rocks so thickly, that it is often difficult to find a way between them." And if that is not a description of a smitten, riven, tortuous, treacherous, heel-wounding Maaleh 'Akrabbim, it would be difficult to frame one.

At the Ascent of 'Akrabbim, as has been already noted the boundary line is said to "turn," or hinge,[2] and pass on Zinward.[3] In other words, the line still running westerly, takes a more southerly[4] bearing from the part of this Ascent of 'Akrabbim, and passes onward into the 'Azâzimeh mountain[5] tract until it reaches Kadesh-barnea, which is the extent of its southern reach — "the southernmost point of the southern boundary."[6] At the southernmost point there must be, of course, another turn—north of westerly—if the line be continued; and we are told that from Kadesh-

[1] In Zach's Monatl. Corr. XVII., p. 134 *f.*; also Bertou, in Bull. de la Soc. Géog., June 1839, p. 323; both cited by Robinson as above.

[2] The Hebrew word *sabhabh* (סָבַב) in Numbers 34: 4, translated "turn," means to turn as on a hinge (See Gesenius's *Heb. Lex.* s. v.).

[3] See page 107 *f*, *supra*.

The alternative rendering "from the extremity of *Teman*," as the starting point of the Zinward turn, referred to at page 107 *f*, *supra*, is more appropriately considered in connection with the restatement of the southern boundary in Ezekiel, as treated farther on in this work.

[4] Keil and Delitzsch (*Bib. Com.*, III., 251 *f.*) argue that a point farther south than Wady Feqreh was the exit from the 'Arabah of this boundary line, on the ground that the "turn," or hinge, at the Ascent of 'Akrabbim must have been from a southerly direction to a more westerly one. But they, like so many others following Robinson in this, have made the mistake of supposing that the southern boundary line of the Land of Promise began by running southward instead of westerly. The line, we may take it for granted, started westerly, and at the Ascent of 'Akrabbim made a turn southerly. A hinge is as truly a hinge when it turns from right to left as when it turns from left to right.

[5] See page 70, *f*, *supra*.

[6] *Speaker's Com.*, at Num. 34: 4.

barnea it reaches forth, or passes along, to Hazar-addar, and thence to 'Azmon, and on to the river (or torrent) of Egypt—which it follows to its termination at the Mediterranean Sea; the coast of that sea bounding the Land of Promise on the west.

The "River of Egypt," or the "Torrent of Egypt," here mentioned is not the Nile, but the extended water course now known as Wady el-'Areesh,[1] which runs northward through the Desert of the Wanderings, dividing it into eastern and western halves,[2] or which, more properly, may be said to separate the Desert et-Teeh from the Desert el-Jefar[3]—the Desert of the Wanderings on the east, from the Desert of Shur[4] on the west. Its outlet into the Mediterranean is at a point a short distance south of a line drawn due west from the southern end of the Dead Sea. The Nile was rather the centre of Egypt than its boundary; and Egypt was never a part of the Land of Promise. But the Wady el-'Areesh is now and always has been a recognized northeasterly boundary line of Egypt, at the point of that wady's outgoing, into the Great Sea. The very name 'Areesh means "boundary," or "extremity."[5]

[1] "The 'Torrent of Egypt' [נַחַל מִצְרַיִם *Nakhal Mitsraim*]; by which name is designated a certain brook, dried up in summer, which falls into the sea not far from [ancient] Rhinocorura, now (العريش) El 'Areesh, on the confines of Egypt and Palestine. [This stream is] not to be confounded with (נְהַר מִצְרַיִם) *Nehar Mitsraim*, the River of Egypt; that is the Nile." (Rosenmüller's *Bib. Alterth.*, III., 65–77.)

[2] "The desert is divided into two halves, an eastern and a western, by the Wady el-Arish (called in the Old Testament 'brook of Egypt,' by the Greeks, 'Rhinokolura') which runs completely from north to south." (Kurtz's *Hist. of Old Cov.*, III., 193.)

[3] "The Arabians . . . strictly distinguish the desert Jefar (جفار) from the desert of the Children of Israel (تيه بني اسرايل). The former still belongs to Egypt, and its boundaries run from Rafah (رفح) the Ῥάφεια of Ptolemy, V. 16. 6), along the bank of the Mediterranean Sea to the sea Tennis (تنيس) from thence to the fruitful meadows of the Nile valley along to Kolzum, and by the Desert et-Teeh, back to the Mediterranean (Tuch, in *Jour. of Sac. Lit.*, July, 1848, p. 88.)

[4] See page, 57 *f*, *supra*.

[5] In Coptic, ⲀⲢⲎϪ (Thebaic), or ⲀⲨⲢⲎϪ (Memphitic), means extremity, end, tip, etc. The first of these forms may be transliterated *Arāj*; the second *'Aurāj*; either of which might be Arabicized into *'Areesh*.

The Septuagint translators, at their work in Egypt twenty centuries ago, recognized in this wady the torrent which separated Egypt from the Land of Promise;[1] and the latest secular writers on Egypt recognize this same boundary between the Egypt and the Palestine of to-day.[2] The Samaritans, as well as the Jews, held that Wady el-'Areesh was the old-time boundary of the Land of Promise Egyptward;[3] and an ancient tradition even located the original division of the countries of the world by lot, among the sons of Noah at the site of El-'Areesh.[4] That the "Torrent of Egypt,"[5] named as the western portion of the southern boundary

[1] In the Septuagint *Nakhal Mitsraim* is rendered: "Winter torrent of Egypt" (Χειμάῤῥουν Αἰγύπτου), in Num. 34: 5; "Ravine of Egypt" (Φάραγξ Αἰγύπτου), in Josh. 15: 4; "River of Egypt" (Ποταμός Αἰγύπτου), in 1 Kings 8: 65; and "Rhinocoroura" ('Ρινοκορούρα), in Isa. 27: 12.

Diodorus (*Bib. Hist.*, Bk. I., Chap. 60), in describing the origin of Rhinocoroura (Dock-nose-town) by its settlement with criminals whose noses had been cut off, says distinctly: "That [town] is situated on the common boundary line of Egypt and Syria." And Diodorus lived more than half-way back from our day to Joshua's.

[2] McCoan, in his *Egypt As It Is* (p. 2), says: "Egypt proper is bounded definitely enough on the . . . east by a line drawn from El-Arish to Akabah;" and again (p. 65), in describing the former place: "In size merely a fort and a village, El-Arish owes its rank as a *mohafza* [having a distinct city government] to its position as the frontier town between Syria and Palestine. The little river of the same name [He calls it a river, as our translators called it], which here forms the actual boundary, is dry during the greater part of the year, but after the rains it empties into the Mediterranean a tolerably rapid, though narrow stream." And the Archduke Ludwig Salvator (in his *Caravan Route between Egypt and Syria*, p. 30) says: "El-Harish is the town of the desert which forms the most advanced post of the Khedive in the direction of Turkish territory."

[3] Wilson (*Lands of Bible*, II., 52) reports the Samaritan high priest as saying to him about Solomon: "Why, do you not know that his kingdom extended from El-'Arish to Damascus; and from the Great Sea to the Euphrates?"

[4] Sir Walter Raleigh says (*Hist. of World*, Pt. I., Bk. II., Chap. 10, § 2) that "Epiphanius reports it as a tradition, that at this place [Rhinocorura, now El-Arish] the world was divided by lot betweene the three sonnes of Noah."

[5] Fürst, in his *Illustrated Bible*, in a note on Ezekiel 47: 19, calls attention to the fact that Epiphanius, the ecclesiastical apologist, speaks of the Wady el-'Areesh as "Nakhal" simply: and this would seem a confirmation of the view of so many

of the Land of Promise is Wady el-'Areesh, would indeed seem to be put beyond fair questioning.

The boundary-line landmarks named between Kadesh-barnea and the Torrent of Egypt have not yet been so identified as to find general acceptance; but this is of minor importance except in confirmation of the other identifications. The eastern, central, and western points of the southern boundary line being fixed, the intermediary points can easily be located. I think I shall be able to make them clear by a report, farther on, of my researches in that region; but that is not essential just here. "Azmon" is apparently identified in the Jewish Targums[1] with the modern Qasaymeh, a group of springs, or pools, a little to the northeast of Jebel Muwaylih, near the great caravan route—the Way of Shur—between Egypt and Syria, already several times referred to. And enough is shown in the identifications which are conclusive, to prove that Kadesh-barnea is in the heart of the 'Azâzimeh mountain tract, at some point south of a line drawn from the southern end of the Dead Sea to the mouth of Wady el-'Areesh; and this agrees with all that has before appeared concerning its probable location.

A point which ought to receive attention in the boundary-line description in Joshua, is the reference to Teman as the portion of Edom lying next to the Wilderness of Zin. As has already been mentioned,[2] the phrase translated (Joshua 15: 1), "The Wilderness of Zin southward was the uttermost part of the south coast,"

scholars, that the simple word "Nakhal," in this passage of Ezekiel, means the Torrent [of Egypt]. Professor Palmer (as above) inclines to the opinion that the name "is still perpetuated in the fort of Nakhl," in mid-desert; although that fort has been commonly understood to be the Fortress of the Palms, from the Arabic (*Nakhl*, نخل "palm-trees"), rather than from the Hebrew (*Nakhal*, נַחַל, "torrent").

[1] Both the Jerusalem and the Pseudo-Jonathan Targums render "Azmon," at Num. 34: 5, as *Qesam* (קיסם).

[2] See page 107, *supra*.

might more properly be rendered, "The Wilderness of Zin southward, from the extremity of Teman."[1] This is the view taken by the Arabic translator, by Houbigant, Geddes, Masius,[2] Sebastian Schmidt, and others. Indeed a restatement of the boundary line in Ezekiel makes this quite clear, in the light of the Septuagint explanatory addition just there. As Crosby[3] says concerning the phrase in Joshua: "'Teman' means 'south,' it is true, but as the writer has just used 'negeb' for 'south,' and uses it immediately again in verse 2, it is almost certain that he here means 'Teman' for the country of Teman."

"Teman"[4] is a Hebrew term meaning literally "what is on the right hand,"[5] or "the right hand place;" hence "the southern quarter." As a proper name, it is applied to a region or district of Edom,[6] and also to the progenitor of the people of that region.[7] As in the case of the word "Negeb," which designated the arid land southward of Canaan, receiving its meaning of southward from its position Canaanward; so in the case of Teman, it was probably the portion of Edom which lay directly south, or Temanward, of Canaan.[8] This being so, it is to be understood that the

[1] The Hebrew word Taiman (תֵּימָן), or Teman, like the word Negeb, although a proper name, is frequently used in the Old Testament as an indication of a point of the compass—southward.

[2] Cited in Pool's *Synops. Crit.*

[3] *Notes on Joshua*, in loco.

[4] *Taiman* (תֵּימָן).

[5] See Gesenius, *Heb. Lex.*, s. v.

[6] See Gen. 36: 34; Jer. 49: 7, 20; Ezek. 25: 13; Amos 1: 12; Obad. 9; Hab. 3: 3.

[7] Gen. 36: 11, 15; 1 Chron. 1: 53.

[8] Every passage in which a reference to Teman occurs, in the Bible, is consistent with this understanding of its location. In Ezek. 25: 13, it seems to be named as if it were the western side of Edom, as over against Dedan on the east; in Amos 1: 12, it is put, as if in the southwest, over against Bozrah in the northeast; in Obadiah 9, it is set over against Mount Seir; and in Habakkuk it is used as a parallelism with Mount Paran. Moreover, there even seems to be a trace of the old name in the Pass el-Yemen (the Pass of the Right, or the Pass of the South, or the Pass which is over against Teman), which goes out from Wady Feqreh northward, up the Bald Mountain, over against ancient Teman—as we find Teman referred to in this boundary line

southern boundary line of the Land of Promise ran along the border of Edom, or Teman, until it reached the western extremity of that border, whence it ran Zinward toward Kadesh-barnea, "southwards from the extremity of Teman."

Once more is the southern boundary of the Promised Land accurately described, in Ezekiel's prophecy of its re-establishment, and that in such a way as to throw added light on the place of Kadesh-barnea, between the eastern and western limits of that boundary. Beginning at the north, the prophet describes the boundary lines, by way of the east around the whole compass.[1] Ending the eastern boundary at the Dead Sea,[2] he outlines the southern boundary with a few salient landmarks, instead of giving all the details supplied in Numbers and Joshua.

"And the south side southward [or, on the south Temanward]; from Tamar [or, Thamar], even to [or, as far as] the waters of strife in Kadesh [or, the waters of Meribah-Kadesh],[3] the river [or, torrentward] to the Great Sea [or, the inheritance (reaches) to the Great Sea]. And this is the south side southward[4] [or, the south side, Temanward]."[5]

of southern Canaan. As to the Pass el-Yemen, see Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, II., 178, 179, 182; Palmer's *Des. of Exod.*, II., 291, 416. As to Teman, see Wilton's *The Negeb*, pp. 123–126. See also page 107, *supra*.

[1] Ezekiel 47: 13–21. [2] Ezekiel 47: 18. [3] Num. 20: 13; 27: 14; Deut. 32: 51.

[4] The use of the word Temanward has already been considered (see page 118, *supra*) in connection with the boundary line as recorded in Joshua. In the Septuagint, the phrase *pros Noton kai Liba* (πρὸς Νότον καὶ Λίβα), corresponding here with the Hebrew *Neghebh Taimanah* (נֶגֶב תֵּימָנָה), rendered in our version "south side southward," is supplemented by *apo Thaiman* (ἀπο Θαιμαν), "from [or, along] Teman," the Teman (Taiman) of the Hebrew text being reduplicated in the Greek, thus indicating the opinion of the Seventy that in this instance, at least, the proper name Teman was intended as a boundary-line landmark. The Genevan Bible reads, "And the south side shalbe toward Teman." Van Dyck's Arabic Bible renders: "And this is the side of Temîn southward.

[5] See, also, Ezek. 48: 28.

For various readings here suggested, and for their discussion, see *Schaff-Lange*

Apparently, three principal points are here designated on the line of the southern boundary; one at the eastern end, one in the centre, one at the western end,—between the extreme bounds of the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean; Thamar at the east, Kadesh-barnea in the centre, the Torrent of Egypt at the west. This is what would seem to accord with the method of Ezekiel in his running anew of the entire boundary line of the Holy Land from the north by way of the east, around again to his starting point.

Thamar was probably a town at or near the southern end of the Dead Sea, which had come into existence, or into prominence, between the days of Joshua and Ezekiel, and therefore had mention by the latter and not by the former. Ptolemy,[1] in an enumeration of the towns of Judea west of the Jordan, names as the most southerly town in his list, "Thamaro," which he locates by his somewhat indefinite latitude and longitude[2] corresponding very nearly with the lower end of the Dead Sea. Eusebius[3] refers to "a certain Thamara, a village distant a day's journey from Mapsis,[4] as you go from Hebron to Ailam, where [at Thamara] is now a

Com.; Speaker's Com.; Hengstenberg's *Com. on Ezek.;* Hitzig's *Der Prophet Ezekiel;* Etc.

[1] *Geog.* Bk. V., chap. 16, § 8.

[2] This is Ptolemy's note of it:

"Θαμαρώ	ξς̄ γ'	λᾱ
Thamaro	66⅓	31
	or 66° 20′	31°

Reland, in his *Palæstina* in quoting this gives the latitude at 30½⅓.

[3] In his *Onomast.* s. v. "Asason Thamar."

[4] Jerome here substitutes "Mempsis." Robinson (*Bib. Res.*, II., 201 *f.*), thinks that the place meant was the "Malatha" of Josephus (*Antiq.* Bk. 18, chap. 6, § 2) the "Moladah" of the Old Testament (Josh. 15: 26; 19: 2; 1 Chron. 4: 28: Neh. 11: 26.) The site of this place he would identify in the modern el-Milh or Tell Milh; and Wilton (*The Negeb* pp. 109–114,) sustains him in this identification. Wilson (*Lands of Bible*, I., 347) and Tristram (*Bible Places*, p. 19) also accept it.

garrison of [Roman] soldiers."[1] Reland,[2] in mentioning "Thamaro" of Ptolemy, says, "Possibly it is the same as Thamara" [of Eusebius]; and he adds that it is given as "Thamaro," at this place, in the Peutinger Tables.[3] Reland makes the mistake—in which he has been followed by many—of supposing that Eusebius locates Thamara at a "day's journey from Hebron as you go to Aila;" whereas the latter says it is a day's journey from Mapsis [or Malatha; or, Moladah];" and Eusebius elsewhere shows that Malatha [Mapsis ?] is sixteen miles, or a short day's journey, from Hebron.[4] Thamara is a day's distance from this place. Menke,[5] in his map carefully plotted from the Onomasticon, locates "Malatha" on the road from Hebron to Aila, and "Thamara" on the Dead Sea near its lower end, about a day's journey eastward. In his maps, from Ptolemy and the Peutinger Tables and later sources, he identifies "Thamaro" with "Thamara;" and "Maps" and "Mapsis" with "Malatha." There would seem little reason

[1] The text of the Onomasticon is: *'Ασασὸν Θαμάρ, ἔνθα κατῴκουν οἱ 'Αμορραῖοι, οὓς κατέκοψεν Χοδορλογόμωρ, παράκειται τῇ ἐρήμῳ Κάδδης. λέγεται δέ τις Θαμαρὰ κώμη διεστῶσα Μάψις ἡμέρας ὁδόν, ἀπιόντων ἀπὸ Χεβρὼν εἰς Αἰλάμ, ἥτις νῦν φρούριόν ἐστι τῶν στρατιωτῶν.*

Jerome renders this: *Asason Thamar, in hac habitabant quondam Amorrhæi, quos interfecit Chodorlagomor; iuxta eremum Cades. est et aliud castellum Thamara; unius diei itinere a Mampsis oppido separatum, pergentibus Ailiam de Chebron, ubi nunc Romanum præsidium positum est.*

[2] *Palæstina*, p. 1031.

[3] The *Tabula Peutingeriana* is a chart of the military roads of the Roman empire, with the distances noted between the towns. Its date is of the third or fourth centuries of our era.

[4] *'Αραμά, πόλις 'Αμορραίων παρακειμένη τῇ ἐρήμῳ καλουμένῃ Κάδδης καὶ ἔστιν εἰς ἔτι νῦν κώμη ἀπὸ τετάρτου σημείου Μαλααθί, τῆς δὲ Χεβρὼν ἀπὸ εἴκοσι, φυλῆς 'Ιούδα.* (*Onomast.* s. v. "Arama.")

"Arama (Arad): A city of the Amorites, lying near to the desert called Kaddes, and there is there even now a village at the fourth milestone from Malatha, but the twentieth from Hebron, in the tribe of Judah."

[5] In his *Bibelatlas*.

for doubting that the Thamar of Ezekiel is the Thamaro of Ptolemy and the Thamara of Eusebius, a town located near the southern end of the Dead Sea, on its western shore;[1] and that this was the newly named starting point of the southern boundary line of the Holy Land.

Robinson[2] has proposed to identify the ruins of Kurnub, on the hills above Es-Sufâh, with the Thamar of Ezekiel; but his arguments on that point have been more than met by later investigators.[3] De Saulcy[4] would find the remains of Thamar on the shore of the Dead Sea, at the mouth of Wady Mubugheek, (which he calls Ouad el-Maist Embarrheg,) and in this he is followed by Wilton; but Tristram,[5] with more reason, would see these remains at the mouth of Wady Zuwayrah, nearer the lower end of the sea, where Bertou[6] and De Saulcy thought they found traces of ancient Zoar. In the line of Tristram's identification, is the mediæval mention[7] of a place known as "Palmar," "Palmer," or "Paumier" (nearly the equivalent of "Thamar"—the Palm) in this immediate region; and, in Menke's map of the Holy Land in the time of the Crusades, "Palmer" is laid down as at the lower end of the Dead Sea.

But, whichever of these closely adjacent sites be accepted as the place of ancient Thamar, there can hardly be a question that Ezekiel takes that place near the Dead Sea, as the eastern[8] starting

[1] See Hengstenberg's *Com. on Ezek.; Schaff-Lange Com.; Speaker's Com.* in loco; also *Imp. Bib. Dic.*, s. v. "Kadesh."

[2] *Bib. Res.*, II., 197–202.

[3] See Keil's *Com. on Ezek.*, *Schaff-Lange Com.* and *Speaker's Com.*, all *in loco;* also Van de Velde's *Syrien u. Pal.*, II., 146, and Wilton's *The Negeb*, pp. 94–97.

[4] *Dead Sea*, I., 210–212.

[5] *Land of Israel*, p. 322.

[6] Referred to by Robinson, in *Bib. Res.*, appendix to Vol. II., first edition, p. 661 *f.*

[7] Von Raumer's *Pal.*, p. 189.

[8] Robinson having a theory to sustain, as to the site of Kadesh-barnea, and having fixed upon Kurnub as the site of Thamar, speaks (*Bib. Res.*, II., 202) of "the Thamar of the prophet Ezekiel, from which the southern border of the land was to be

point of the southern boundary line of the restored Holy Land; Kadesh as the central and southernmost point of that line; and the Torrent of Egypt, with its outlet into the Mediterranean, as its western point. This would seem to fix Kadesh-barnea as midway between the lower end of the Dead Sea and the mouth of Wady el-'Areesh; but at a place in the 'Azâzimeh mountain tract farther south than a line drawn directly between the two termini. This again corresponds with all that we have before learned of its probable site, and gives added data for its fixing.

The wedge shape of this southern boundary line, as here described—with Kadesh-barnea as its lower point—conforms to all the southern boundary lines of the Peninsula of Sinai.[1] The peninsula itself is wedge shaped. "The desert of Et Tîh is a limestone plateau of irregular surface, the southern portion of which projects wedge-wise into the Sinaitic Peninsula."[2] Again the southern line of the 'Azâzimeh mountain plateau "projects [wedge-wise] into the Tîh, much in the same way as the Tîh projects into Sinai."[3] Finding these three natural boundary lines one above another, we are prepared, in looking for a fourth line, above

measured, on one side to Kadesh, and on the other to the western sea." But this suggestion of a start in the middle, and a working in both directions, Wilton (*The Negeb*, p. 97) characterizes as a "most unnatural gloss." Hengstenberg (*Com. on Ezek.*, p. 479) says that it leads to an "unnatural assumption, . . . against which all analogy speaks."

[1] "Rashi" (*'al ha-Torah*, at Num. 34: 3) speaks of Egypt and Edom as pressing on the southern boundary of Palestine; as the wedge shape of that boundary would indicate.

[2] Palmer's *Des. of Exod.*, II., 284.

Major H. E. Palmer, in his *Sinai* (p. 4 *f.*), after defining the area of "the triangular peninsula" of Sinai, goes on to say: "The lofty desert table-land of the Tîh, which occupies the whole space between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, projects boldly southward into this area in such a manner as to form, roughly speaking, a second triangle, interior to the first, and resting on the same base, with its apex at or near the centre of the large one."

[3] Palmer's *Des. of Exod.*, II., 289.

these three, to recognize it in a natural outline parallel to them all, as made by Wady Feqreh on the east and Wady el-'Areesh on the west, with Kadesh-barnea as its southernmost angle; and as described so fully in Numbers, Joshua, and Ezekiel. A natural boundary line of this description is certainly more in accordance with all the boundary lines of Bible lands, than would be an abrupt horizontal line striking across mountain and wady, from sea to sea; for "the natural boundaries of the geographer are rarely described by right lines."

15. SEL'A—PETRA—THE ROCK.

There is one more Bible reference to Kadesh-barnea as a boundary-line landmark which may prove a help to its locating; and that is in Judges 1: 36, where it appears under the name of The Rock—a name which recalls one of its distinctive natural features, and also one of the most momentous incidents in its varied history as a locality.[1] "And the coast [or, border] of the Amorites," says the Hebrew historian, in telling of the struggle for that enemy's subjugation, "was from the going up to Akrabbim [or, from Maaleh-'Akrabbim[2]], from The Rock, and upward [or, northward]."

The Hebrew word here translated Rock, is *Sel'a*;[3] the same word as that which appears in the Bible for the first time, and there five times over, in the narrative of the murmuring for water, and of the miracle for its supply, at Kadesh-barnea. It is a different word from that translated "rock," in Exodus 17: 6, in the story of the miraculous supply of water at Horeb. *There* the Hebrew word is *tsoor*.[4] *Tsoor* gives the idea of strength and sharp-

[1] Num. 20: 7–11. [2] See pages 107–114, *supra*.

[3] Or, with the article, הַסֶּלַע (*hassel'a*, or, as Anglicized, *ha-Sel'a*).

[4] צוּר.

ness, and is applied to rocks in general; while *Sel'a* suggests height, and is applied to a cliff or crag.[1]

At a later period in Jewish history, another Sel'a[2] than the Rock of Kadesh-barnea comes into prominence, as a stronghold of the Edomites—possibly the place subsequently known as Petra, or the Rock-City; and this identity of name has been a cause of strange and manifold confusion in both ancient and modern mentions of Kadesh and Petra.[3] Sel'a was first used in the sacred narrative as a designation of the Rock at Kadesh-barnea. The most natural use of the same term, in a record of events happening within less than a century after the Israelites' departure from the vicinity of that Rock, is its application to the same landmark; especially as Sel'a does not appear as an obvious designation of the Edomite stronghold until nearly six centuries later.[4] Moreover, as Kadesh-barnea was already the well-known boundary landmark next west, or southwest, of Maaleh-'Akrabbim,[5] its new mention here—under the name of the Rock—in conjunction with Maaleh-'Akrabbim, on a southern boundary line, would seem hardly open to question.

An added reason for designating Kadesh-barnea as Sel'a, in referring to it as a boundary limit of the Amorite domain, is possibly to be found in the fact that there was another Kadesh (probably Kadesh-Naphtali) already known as "Kadesh of the Amorites,"[6] to which there are repeated references in the Egyptian

1 Gesenius's *Heb. and Chald. Lex.*, s.vv.; also Stanley's *Sinai and Pal.*, Appendix, §§ 28, 29.

2 2 Kings 14: 7.

3 This will be shown more clearly farther on in this work.

4 2 Kings 14: 7; and 2 Chron. 25: 11, 12.

5 Num. 34: 4; Josh. 15: 3. See, also, page 114, *supra*.

6 It has been common to confound Kadesh of the Hittites with Kadesh of the Amorites, but the distinction between the two places will be considered farther on in this work. This, however, does not affect the point above made, that there was a Kadesh of the Amorites which was not Kadesh-barnea.

records. It is as if the chronicler had said: The boundary limit of the Amorites is Kadesh the Rock, not Kadesh of the Amorites.

If, indeed, the Rock in this case were to be understood as meaning Petra, the described boundary line of the Amorites would either be meaningless, or be an absurdity. Petra is east of the 'Arabah. The Ascent of 'Akrabbim is but a short distance to the west of the 'Arabah;[1] unless indeed it be reckoned as in the 'Arabah, according to the claim of Robinson and those who accept his tentative location of it.[2] In the one case, a southern boundary line from the Ascent of 'Akrabbim to Petra would start the Amorites "upward" into the Dead Sea; in the other case the line would run from north to south, and return on itself.[3] But, recognizing Kadesh-barnea in the Rock, the reasonableness of the Amorite boundary line is evident. The Amorites, or Highlanders,[4] occupied the central hill-country of the Land of Promise, north and south, between the Shephelah, or maritime plain, on the west, and the 'Arabah, or Ghôr, or the Jordan valley, on the east. The southern base line of this Hill-country of the Amorites would stretch from the Ascent of 'Akrabbim—or the Pass el-Yemen—on the northeast, to Kadesh-barnea—or the Rock—as already indicated in the southern boundary of Judah, on the southwest. Or, as the text describes it: "The border of the Amorites was from Maaleh-'Akrabbim, from the Rock, and northward."[5]

[1] See pages 109–114, *supra*. [2] See page 109, *supra*.

[3] So evident is this difficulty, that the attempt has been made to show that the Hebrew word *ma'elah* (מַעֲלֵה), in Judges 1: 36, should be translated "onward," instead of "upward," and so the landmarks named be taken as starting but not completing the boundary line description. But this claim has been shown to be entirely untenable. See *Schaff-Lange Com.*, in loco.

[4] See page 65, *supra*.

[5] For the discussion of various points involved in this rendering, see, Kurtz's *Hist. of Old Cov.*, III., 208; Keil and Delitzsch's *Bib. Com.*, in loco; Fries's "Ueber die Lage von Kades," in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1854, pp. 60–62; *Schaff-Lange Com.*, *Speaker's Com.*, and Barrett's *Synops. of Crit.*, all *in loco*.

16. THE LOCATION OF MOUNT HOR.

The only remaining references to Kadesh-barnea in the Bible text, which might be supposed to throw any light on its location, are its several mentions in connection with other stopping places in the narrative of the wanderings, and again in the formal list of the stations of encampment.

In Numbers 20: 22, it is said: "And the children of Israel, even the whole congregation, journeyed from Kadesh, and came unto Mount Hor." And again, in Numbers 33: 37: "And they removed from Kadesh, and pitched in Mount Hor, in the edge of the land of Edom." This at once raises the questions: Where is Mount Hor? at what point on the boundary line of the land of Edom? and, Is Kadesh to be understood as only a day's distance from Mount Hor? For if Mount Hor be identified, and Kadesh is to be looked for within a day's distance of that mountain, another important clue is obtained to the location of Kadesh.

"Mount Hor" is a descriptive title, indicating a mountain which is peculiar and distinctive. Its Hebrew form is *Hor ha-Har*,[1] literally "Mountain, the Mountain." The name does not necessarily imply a greater height than other mountains; nor yet a place among other mountains; but it does indicate a mountain that for some reason stands out as a mountain—*the* mountain. Thus Mount Tabor, which rises prominently from a plain, is called by the Arabs, *Jebel et-Toor*[2]—the equivalent of *Hor ha-Har*. There was a northern Mount Hor,[3] (commonly supposed to be Mount Hermon[4]) also named as a boundary landmark of the

[1] Hebrew, הֹר הָהָר.

[2] Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, II., 351. *Surv. of West. Pal.* I. p. 388. [3] Num. 34: 7, 8.

[4] See *Schaff-Lange Com.*; *Speaker's Com.*; Von Gerlach's *Com. on Pent.*; Pool's *Synops. Crit.*; and Barrett's *Synops. of Crit.*; all at Num. 34: 7-9. Comp. also, Josh. 12: 1.

Land of Promise; hence it is evident that the name in itself is not a sufficient identification of the site.

The commonly accepted site of the southern Mount Hor is at the east of the 'Arabah, near the ruins of ancient Petra.[1] But there is absolutely nothing to justify the claim of that site except tradition; while there are difficulties in reconciling that site to the requirements of the Bible text, which seem insurmountable.

Mount Hor clearly could not have been within the limits of Edom, certainly not within the limits of Mount Seir; for the Lord said emphatically to the children of Israel, when they were to pass that territory of the children of Esau: "Meddle not with them; for I will not give you of their land, no, not so much as a foot-breadth; because I have given Mount Seir unto Esau for a possession."[2] Now as Aaron was buried in Mount Hor,[3] Mount Hor must have been somewhere else than in Mount Seir; for Aaron's grave could not have been less than a foot's breadth of land. This is one point about which there seems no room for question.

Yet the traditional Mount Hor is clearly within the bounds not only of Edom but of Mount Seir. As the Speaker's Commentary[4] says of it, in an argument in its defense, against the admitted difficulties of reconciling it with the Bible text: "Hor [this Hor] unquestionably lay within the territory of Edom;" and it might fairly have added, that this fact "unquestionably" puts this Hor out of the question as a claimant to the site of the Hor where Aaron died and was buried; for as Robinson[5] has tersely declared,

[1] For descriptions of this mountain, see Burckhardt's *Trav. in Syria*, pp. 429-432; Irby and Mangles's *Travels*, pp. 432-439; Legh's "Excursion from Jerusalem to Wady Mûsa," in *Bib. Repos.*, Oct. 1833; Laborde's *Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée*, p. 60 *f.*; Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, II., 152; Miss Martineau's *Eastern Life*, pp. 364-366; Wilson's *Lands of Bible*, I., 291-299; Stanley's *Sinai and Pal.*, pp. 84-87.

[2] Deut. 2: 5.

[3] Com. Num. 20: 22-29; 33: 37-39; Deut. 10: 6.

[4] At Num. 20: 22.

[5] In *Bib. Sac.* for May, 1849, p. 380.

concerning any such journeying of the Israelites into the domain of Edom, that is something "which we know was not permitted."

Just look at the irreconcilableness of the traditional site with the requirements of the Bible narrative. From Kadesh-barnea the Israelites sent messengers to the king of Edom, asking permission to pass through his territory.[1] That permission was refused, and the king of Edom even came out against Israel "with much people and with a strong hand; . . . wherefore Israel turned away from him." It was at this time that the death and burial of Aaron took place. The order of the Bible narrative gives a choice of two readings as to the order of events. The movement of the Israelites toward Mount Hor was made, either during the absence of the messengers, or directly after their return. In the one case, it would appear that while the Israelites would not attempt a peaceful passage along Edom's royal highway without the king of Edom's explicit consent, they felt at liberty to move into Edom's territory and start a cemetery on one of the most commanding summits of the nation's stronghold, without so much of ceremony as "by your leave." That would have been a very different course from the Oriental usages, as illustrated in the purchase of the double-cave from the sons of Heth by the patriarch Abraham,[2] when "he stood up from before his dead," saying, "I am a stranger and a sojourner with you: give me a possession of a burying-place with you, that I may bury my dead out of my sight;" adding, concerning the field which he desired, "I will give the money for the field; take it of me, and I will bury my dead there." The Israelites made a specific promise to pay Edom for all the water they or their cattle might use in passing through that land;[3] but, according to the popular tradition, they were ready to seize real estate in Edom with a purpose of its occupancy for all time, without a proffer of payment, or the courtesy of a re-

[1] Num. 20: 14-21. [2] Gen. 23: 3-20. [3] Num. 20: 19.

quest. If that was really their way of doing business, there was a good reason for Edom's coming out against them with much people and with a strong hand.

With the alternative reading of the Bible narrative (a reading which corresponds better with the surface order of record, but which has less probability than the other, in view of the Bible method of following out one incident to its completion, and then going back to take up and follow out another),—if it was not until the messengers came back to Kadesh from the king of Edom, bringing his refusal, that the Israelites moved forward to Mount Hor, the unreasonableness of the traditional site is even greater than in the other case. According to this view, when the Israelites had been told that they could not pass through Edom, and while an Edomitish army was actually coming down against them, they deliberately moved out in full force from their encircled-stronghold, and, in defiance of the Edomitish demonstration, pressed forward to the very citadel, as it were, of the land which had been forbidden them, and, encamping before it, remained there threateningly, while Aaron, with Moses and Eleazer, went within the limits of the forbidden domain to take more than a foot of the soil which the Lord said they were not to possess. The mere statement of this case is its completest refutation.

The truth is, that revelation and reason are at one against the identification of the veritable Mount Hor in the traditional Mount Hor. All that can be said in favor of this site[1] is, that some fifteen centuries after the death of Aaron, Josephus,[2] and then Eusebius,[3] and Jerome,[4] understood that the traditional tomb of Aaron was not far from the ancient Petra. Not a particle of evidence in

[1] For the arguments in its favor see Wilson's *Lands of Bible*, I., 291–299; *Speaker's Com.*, at Num. 20: 22; Drew's *Scripture Lands*, p. 84, note.

[2] *Antiq.*, Bk. IV., Chap. 4, § 7.

[3] *Onomast.*, s. v., "Or" (Ὢρ).

[4] *De Loc. Heb.*, s. v., "Or."

favor of this identification is suggested by either of these writers; and the cause of their error in the location is sufficiently accounted for by the confusion, which existed even in their day and earlier, as also long afterwards, between the Rock-Kadesh and the Rock-Petra. Mount Hor may indeed have been near the Rock-Kadesh; it could not have been at the Rock-Petra, nor have held the relation to that Rock-City held by the mountain which is known to the Arabs as Jebel Neby Hâroon, the Mountain of the Prophet Aaron. An Arab tradition of a tomb is the poorest possible basis for a geographical identification. Eusebius and Jerome could be so in error as to insist that the mountains Ebal and Gerizim were near Jericho,[1] and even when Josephus agrees with them as to an ancient tradition, there is small weight to be attached to the combination, in the face of the manifold requirements of the Bible narrative to the contrary, especially when the cause of the traditional mistake is already ascertained.

The plain geographical indications of the Bible text are hardly less strong against the identification of Mount Hor in its traditional site at Jebel Neby Hâroon, than are the rational indications. As has already been shown, there is commonly a distinction between "Mount Seir" and "the land of Edom," in the various Pentateuch references to the Edomitish territory east and west of the 'Arabah. While there are occasional uses of the term, "the land of Edom," as covering the possessions of Edom on both sides of the 'Arabah,[2] the ordinary distinction is kept, of Mount Seir as the region directly east of the 'Arabah,[3] and the land of Edom, or the region of Teman, west of the 'Arabah.[4] And Mount Hor is

[1] *Onomast.*, s. v., "*Golgol.*"

[2] So, *e. g.*, at Gen. 36: 21; 1 Kings 9: 26. So, similarly, the term "Israel" is applied at times to "Judah," even after the distinction was made between the kingdoms of "Israel" and "Judah." (See 2 Chron. 12: 1; 15: 17; 19: 8; 21: 2; Isa. 8: 14; etc.)

[3] So, *e. g.*, at Gen. 14: 6; 36: 8, 21; Deut. 1: 2; 2: 1, 5; Josh. 24: 4; etc.

[4] So. at Gen. 32: 3; Num. 21: 4; 34: 3; Josh. 15: 1, 21; Judges 11: 18.

said to be "by the coast [or, on the line] of the land of Edom";[1] and again, "in the edge [or, at the extremity] of the land of Edom";[2] not, on the line, or in the extremity, of Mount Seir. Yet when the region of which Jebel Neby Hâroon is a part had to be compassed, it is mentioned as Mount Seir,[3] as we should have reason to expect.

Moreover, the Bible record shows that when the Israelites moved from Kadesh-barnea to Mount Hor they alarmed the king of Arad, in the land of Canaan, as if they were advancing threateningly northward; and in consequence he came out against them in force.[4] It has been a puzzle of puzzles to the commentators to explain why that king should have supposed that the Israelites were coming toward him when they were really going from him, as they must have been doing if Jebel Neby Hâroon was their destination. And this is only one trouble among many, growing out of the attempt to reconcile the geographical indications of the text with the claims of the traditional site of Mount Hor. And in addition to all the other reasons for rejecting these claims, it should be considered that since the stretch of Edom was on both sides of the 'Arabah, the 'Arabah itself, northward of the lower extremity of Mount Seir, was within the territory of Edom: hence it could not have been entered by the Israelites.

Yet, all this while, there is a mountain which fully meets the requirements of the Bible text, and the rational demands of the narrative, as to the Mount Hor where Aaron died and was buried. That mountain is Jebel Madurah,[5] near the western extremity of Wady Feqreh, a little to the southwest of the passes Es-Sufâh and El-Yemen. Its formation, its location, its name, go to identify it

[1] Num. 20: 23. [2] Num. 33: 37. [3] Deut. 2: 1-5.
[4] Num. 21: 1; 33: 40.
[5] This identification was suggested by Wilton (*The Negeb*, p. 127 *ff.*), but its proofs can be carried quite beyond his attempt. See also Rowlands in *Imp. Bib. Dic.* s. v. "Moserah."

with the place of Aaron's burial, and there is even a smack of tradition in its favor, for the encouragement of those who value tradition more than revelation and reason.

Jebel Madurah is peculiarly the "Mountain, the Mountain;" a mountain rising by itself alone from a plain, like Mount Tabor or Jebel et-Toor. "This Madurah," says Crosby,[1] "is detached from all other mountains, and rises from the plain as we may imagine the tower of Babel on the plain of Shinar." Seetzen[2] describes it as a "steep-sided" hill, "quite naked," and "surrounded with a most unfruitful plain." Schubert[3] mentions it as "a high, bald mountain." Lord Lindsay[4] calls it "a large, singular-looking, isolated chalk hill." Robinson[5] refers to it as "remarkable in its appearance, . . . rising alone like a lofty citadel." Wilson designates it as "an isolated hill;"[6] and Palmer[7] as "a round isolated hill." Nothing certainly is lacking in these descriptions to show it as *Hor ha-Har*, a mountain that is a mountain, instead of being a mountain among mountains.

In its location, Jebel Madurah stands at a triangular site, where the boundaries of Edom, of Canaan, and of the Wilderness of Zin, or in a larger sense of the Wilderness of Paran, approach each other so as to pass along this mountain without touching it. It is at the extremest northwestern boundary of the land of Edom, yet it is not within that boundary line. It is on the very verge of the Land of Promise, yet it is not within the outer limits of that land. The border wadies—Feqreh, Madurah, Murrah, and Hanjoorat—which separated Canaan from Edom, and both Canaan and Edom from the unclaimed wilderness, so run as to form the surrounding plain, above which is upreared this remarkable mountain-tower, this lofty, solitary mountain-citadel.

[1] "El-Mukattem" (Dr. Howard Crosby) in *Lands of Moslem*, p. 235.

[2] *Reisen*, III., p. 14. [3] *Reise*, II., 443. [4] *Letters*, II., 46.

[5] *Bib. Res.*, II., 179. [6] *Lands of Bible*, I., 340. [7] *Des of Exod.*, II., 416.

And Jebel Madurah lies in a northeasterly direction from the region of Kadesh-barnea, as all indications thus far have combined to locate that region. It is in the line from Kadesh-barnea of the route which the Israelites seem to have had in mind, when they proposed to pass along Edom's royal road from the east of the 'Arabah, and eastward of the Dead Sea; possibly through the broad Wady el-Ghuwayr[1] which offers an easy passage.[2] The Israelites would not unnaturally move thitherward as they planned for that route[3]; and such a move on their part would not unnaturally be looked upon by the kings of Edom and Arad as a threatening move, to be met and resisted vigorously. Then it was, on the occasion of that refusal, and the hostile demonstration that accompanied it, that Israel "turned away" from Edom,[4] turned sharply from the northeast to the southwest, and "journeyed from Mount Hor by the Way of the Red Sea;[5] went out into the "great and terrible wilderness" once more,[6] to strike the Red Sea Road, or the Hajj Route as it is called to-day; and this in order "to compass the land of Edom,"[7] the western possessions of Edom, included in the 'Azâzimeh and Jebel Muqrâh tract. Nor is there cause for wonder that in such a move as *this*, "the soul of the people was much discouraged because of the road;" as would not have been

[1] See Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria*, p. 421; Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, II., 154 *f.*; etc.

[2] "El-Ghuwayr" is the diminutive of El-Ghôr." This wady is, therefore, "The Little 'Arabah.

[3] Palmer (*Des. of Exod.*, II., 416) in describing the wady course in which Jebel Madurah stands, says: "The whole of the wady between the Nagb Ghârib and Jebel Maderah, being the route by which the hostile tribes from the east invade the 'Azâzimeh [mountain tract, in which Kadesh-barnea is supposed to be located], is marked by stone heaps, each of which commemorates some incident of Arab warfare." And if that is the natural route of invasion *from* the East, why should it not be recognized as the natural route of exit *toward* the East—the natural route of the Israelites out of Kadesh-barnea toward the plains of Moab?

[4] Num. 20: 21. [5] Num. 21: 4.

[6] Deut. 1: 19. [7] Num. 21: 4.

the case had they merely moved down the 'Arabah from near Petra to the Gulf of 'Aqabah.

In the very name of Madurah there is a seeming trace of the name of the place of Aaron's death and burial, while it is not claimed that there is any such trace at the traditional site near Petra. As has already been shown, the designation *Hor ha-Har* is a descriptive title rather than a proper name. The name of the mountain, and of the plain about the mountain (for in the East it is a common thing to find a wady, and a jebel rising from or adjoining that wady, bearing the same name), seems to have been "Mosera," or "Moseroth"; for in one place it is said that Aaron died at Mount Hor,[1] and in another place it is said that he died at Mosera,[2] and yet again this place appears to be named in the list of stations (on the occasion of another visit) as Moseroth.[3] Now Madurah is well nigh an equivalent of Mosera, the consonants "d" and "s" having a constant tendency to interchange in Eastern speech.[4] If the Israelites were assembled in the Wady Madurah, or Moserah, when Moses and Aaron and Eleazer went up into Jebel Madurah, or *Hor ha-Har*, the solemn scene of disrobing the high priest on the mountain top would be literally "in the sight of all the congregation;"[5] and the event might properly be said, at one time, to have taken place at Mount Hor, and at another time to have occurred at Moserah.

And now for the touch of tradition. Although small weight is to be attached to Arab traditions as an independent source of knowledge, this testimony has its incidental value when it is corroboratory of evidence that should have weight. In the case of Jebel Madurah, it is the uniform report of the more intelligent

[1] Num. 20: 22–28; Deut. 32: 50. [2] Deut. 10: 6.

[3] Num. 33: 30, 31. Comp. Deut. 10: 6.

[4] See Wilton's *The Negeb*, p. 127 *f*, with quotation from D'Anville.

[5] Num. 20: 26, 27.

travelers that this mountain is held in peculiar awe by the Arabs generally, as the reputed scene of an ancient manifestation of God's special judgment. The conflicting details of the reported traditions are not to be wondered at by those who know how confusedly the Arabs intermingle traditions of Abraham, Moses, Aaron, Muhammad, and Saleh. Sodom from the north, and Kadesh from the south, have been brought to the central site of Madurah, to furnish material for the traditions which linger about this mountain of judgment. But the fact that an exceptional prominence attaches to this mountain in the traditions of the Arabs has long been a point established by the clearest evidence.

It was Seetzen[1] who first, in 1807, heard, at Hebron, of the remarkable traditions of Jebel Madurah, so that he was induced to make a journey to that mountain for the sake of investigating them. He was told that "the figure of a petrified man"[2] was to be seen there; as if the remains of Aaron were still preserved at the place where he died in the sight of all the congregation of Israel. It need hardly be added that he did not find the promised remains. Thirty years after this, Von Schubert[3] was there. He does not clearly indicate what he heard from the Arabs, as distinct from what he fancied; but he reports that region as the Kadesh where the Israelites were judged after their murmurings at the report of the spies. Then came Lord Lindsay,[4] who was told by the Arabs that God crushed a village for its vices under that mountain. This was the Sodom story adapted to the region; the petrified man having perhaps suggested the feminine pillar of salt. Count Bertou,[5] again, found traditional traces of Kadesh there; being even told by his Arabs that its name was "Kadessa." The story

[1] *Reisen*, III., pp. 7–14. [2] "*die Figur von einem versteinerten Menschen.*"

[3] *Reise*, II., 443 *f.* [4] *Letters*, II., 46.

[5] *Bulletin Soc. Geog.*, 1839, p. 321 *ff.*, cited by Robinson (*Bib. Res.*, II., 179), and Wilson (*Lands of Bible*, I., 340).

of the punishment of Korah and his company, at Kadesh, may linger in the Arab legends of that region. Robinson was given the tradition by Shaykh Hussân, much in the form that Lord Lindsay heard it. Wilson[1], again, refers to this tradition; and finally Palmer[2] repeats it, and while noting the fact that "the legend is evidently a transplanted reminiscence of the story of Sodom and Gomorrah," suggests a reason for this transfer in a similar name of the region near Sodom (Moasada), as given by Strabo.[3] Yet while this similarity of names may be one reason (if any reason is needed for confusion in an Arab tradition) for the details of the legend, it is evident that Jebel Madurah itself is a site where traditions of God's judgment have been clustered in various forms; and, surely, the sending up of the high priest of Israel to die in very sight of the Promised Land he was forbidden to enter, was an evident judgment which could hardly fail to make an impression that should be transmitted from generation to generation among the people of the East.

In fact it would appear that there was actually nothing lacking to identify Jebel Madurah as the southern Mount Hor of the Bible narrative, unless, indeed, it were a Nabathean tomb where pilgrims could offer sacrifices, and for the exhibition of which the Bed'ween could secure bakhsheesh. In every other particular, Jebel Madurah has an eminent advantage over Jebel Neby Hâroon.

Dean Stanley, with his wonted and charming enthusiasm over a poetic identification of a sacred site, says[4] of Jebel Neby Hâroon as the probable Mount Hor: "It is one of the very few spots connected with the wanderings of the Israelites, which admit of no reasonable doubt." Yet it is by no means a fact that this site has been undisputed by intelligent travelers and critical scholars who

[1] *Lands of Bible*, I., 340.
[2] *Des. of Exod.*, II., 416.
[3] *Geog.*, XVI., 2, 44.
[4] *Sinai and Pal.*, p. 86.

have recognized its incompatibleness with the Bible narrative. Niebuhr, was disposed to find Mount Hor in the peninsula of Sinai, a long way from the 'Arabah.[1] In Pococke's opinion, "It is probable that Jebel Te [Jebel et-Teeh] is Mount Hor."[2] An English scholar of nearly a quarter of a century ago was very positive in his identification of Mount Hor in Jebel 'Arâeef-en-Nâqah, at the southwestern angle of the 'Azâzimeh mountain tract.[3] And that mountain is certainly a very notable feature of the upper wilderness. Robinson[4] says of it: "At a distance it seems wholly isolated; . . . a striking object . . . in the middle of the mighty waste." But *this* mountain is clearly not on the border of Edom, nor does its position correspond with the requirements of the Bible text in other particulars. Wilton[5] has, with a good show of probability, claimed its identification with Hor-hagidgad, "the very conspicuous mountain," which appears in the list of stations[6] at two removes from Moseroth, or Mount Hor. Knobel,[7] again, was positive that "Hor cannot be the Jebel Haroon of Wady Moosa." Ewald declared that this claimed identification "though sedulously propagated and widely spread in later times," is yet "a mere conjecture, and perfectly untenable."[8] Lange[9] also saw that "the text is plainly opposed to this" locating of Mount Hor; and that Moserah is to be looked for "scarcely in the Edomitic 'Arabah, but upon its western side and in the desert." Wilton,[10] moreover, not only denied the possible identification of Mount Hor in Jebel Neby Haroon, but, as has been stated, he even pointed out Jebel Madurah as the true Mount

[1] *Reiseb. nach Arab.*, p. 238.

[2] *Descrip. of East*, I., 157.

[3] "H. C.," in "A Critical Enquiry into the Route of the Exodus," in *Jour. Sac. Lit.*, April, 1860, p. 57 *f*.

[4] *Bib. Res.*, I., 185.

[5] *The Negeb*, p. 132.

[6] Num. 33: 31, 32.

[7] *Exeget. Handb.*, at Num. 20: 20–22.

[8] *Hist. of Isr.*, II., 201, note.

[9] *Schaff-Lange Com.*, at Num. 20: 22–29 B.

[10] *The Negeb*, pp. 126–130.

Hor; and we have seen that he had reason for his conviction on this point.

So it seems that not all scholars have hitherto blindly followed tradition in the recognition of the site of Mount Hor at a point where the Bible text shows it could not have been. Yet if they had done so, that would be no reason for a denial of the truth when an examination of the Bible text makes that truth clear. "God forbid: yea, let God be found true, but every man a liar."[1]

17. THE TIME BETWEEN STATIONS.

Quite distinct from the question of the site of Mount Hor, is the question of the relative nearness to each other of the various stations named in the narrative of the movements of the Israelites, from Egypt to the plains of Moab. It has been common, very common, to count those stations as generally a day's distance apart; hence to suppose that the juxtaposition of Kadesh and Mount Hor in the list of stations, indicates that Kadesh and Mount Hor were but a day's journey from each other. But, in fact, this supposition has neither foundation nor countenance in the Bible text, however much support it gains in the commentaries. Revelation and reason are at one against it.

So far from it being true, that the stations always indicate day's marches, it may fairly be questioned whether any two on the list, after leaving Sinai, are only a day apart; while in some cases it is evident that the distance between them is greater than this.

On the way from Rameses to Sinai, there was, seemingly, no formal organization of the Israelitish host; certainly there was no tabernacle to be set up at each station. There was no such delay necessary for the breaking and pitching of a well ordered camp, and for the due formation of column and line at every new move,

[1] Rom. 3: 4.

as was afterward inevitable. Yet even then, between quite a number of the consecutive stations, there must have been more than a day's distance intervening.[1] It is distinctly shown that between the Red Sea crossing place and Marah was a "three days' journey;"[2] and it is only in a few instances that a fair inference would limit the time between stations to a single day. The narrative in Exodus (16: 1) would appear to indicate no stop between Elim and the Wilderness of Sin; and again, (17: 1) none between the Wilderness of Sin and Rephidim; but the list of stations in Numbers (33: 10–14) names the Red Sea between the first two of these, and Dophkah and Alush between the last two. And even with this expansion of the list, the time between stations is only inferential.[3]

But, however it may have been between Rameses and Sinai, from Sinai onward a very different order of things prevailed. The host was organized.[4] The elaborate details of a formal camp, tribe by tribe in due position with the tabernacle in the centre, were prescribed. Time was necessary for the divinely enjoined forms, in the removing and loading, and in the unloading and replacing of the vessels and furniture and curtains and hangings and coverings and boards and pillars and sockets of the tabernacle; for the breaking and pitching of a camp for a mighty host; for the bring-

[1] On this point, see "Route of the Exodus," *infra*.

[2] Exod. 15: 22, 23.

[3] It has been claimed by some (*e. g.* Lepsius, in *Discoveries in Egypt*, p. 364, and Appendix, p. 435 *f.*; Von Gerlach, in *Com. on Pent.*, at Exod. 19: 1, and Holland, in *Recovery of Jerusalem*, Appendix, p. 535), that Exodus, 19: 1. 2, would indicate that Rephidim was only a day's distance from the wilderness of Sinai; but an examination of the text will show, that the phrase "the same day," as there applied to the time of the arrival at Sinai, has no immediate reference to the days of departure from Rephidim. "According to Jewish tradition, this means on the first day of the third month; but grammatically it may be taken more indefinitely—'at this time.'" (*Schaff-Lange Com.*, in loco.)

[4] Exod. 40: 34–38; Num. 1: 1–54; 2: 1–34.

ing of all the able bodied men into tribal column of march, and into camp again; to say nothing of the delays occasioned by the women and children and other hindrances to a rapid movement.

"And when the tabernacle setteth forward, the Levites shall take it down; and when the tabernacle is to be pitched, the Levites shall set it up. . . . And the children of Israel shall pitch their tents, every man by his own camp, and every man by his own standard, throughout their hosts."[1] These were the divine orders before leaving Sinai. "And the children of Israel did according to all that the Lord commanded Moses: so they pitched by their standards, and so they set forward, every one after their families, according to the house of their fathers."[2] To one who is at all familiar with extensive army movements, and with desert life and ways in the East, the idea of taking down that tabernacle, and breaking up that camp, and getting such a mighty host as that into marching order, and making a reasonable journey, and getting that host into formal camp again, and setting up that tabernacle as before, all in one day, is hardly less than a bald absurdity. If it was done, day by day, in the journeyings, it was certainly quite as marked a miracle as the regular supply of manna; although it is not commonly included in the list of miracles.

But the Bible story makes it plain that all this was not done. The first move from Sinai is reported in Numbers 10: 33–36. "And they departed from the mount of the Lord *three days' journey:* and the ark of the covenant of the Lord went before them in the three days' journey, to search out a resting place for them." There is not much room for doubt, that it was a "three days' journey" from Mount Sinai to their *first* resting place; not that they marched day and night without stopping to rest; but that the first two nights they bivouacked, and on the third day they formally encamped. This is what we should gather from the text itself;

[1] Num. 1: 51, 52. [2] Num. 2: 34.

and all outside examination as to the probabilities tends to confirm this view of the facts.

The first station after Sinai in the list of stations is Kibroth-hattaavah. It is evident from the narrative that the tabernacle was set up at Kibroth-hattaavah,[1] and that the people remained there a month or more.[2] There were dug "the graves of lust"—for those who died as a penalty of their gluttonous and faithless lusting; and Taberah[3] (the Place of Burning) was the name given to the rear of that vast camping field.[4] Palmer[5] thinks that he has discovered the site of that encampment, at a place called by the Arabs "Erweis el-Ebeirig," some thirty miles, more or less, northeasterly of the Plain er-Râhah—the supposed Sinai starting-point of the Israelites. This identification has been accepted by some others;[6] yet it cannot be called a settled point. "Erweis el-Ebeirig" is a little eastward of the route which Holland thinks must have been taken by the Israelites from Sinai;[7] although it is not so far from it that it cannot be admitted as a possible divergence, for particular reasons. If, indeed, this be accepted as the site of Kibroth-hattaavah, it is quite too far from the Sinai starting-point to be within the range of a day's journey, and not too near to be recognized as a probable three days' journey. If, on the other hand, another site for Kibroth-hattaavah must be looked for, that also will have to be recognized as a three days' journey from Sinai; for so, as has been shown, the Bible narrative clearly indicates.[8]

It should be borne in mind that a "three days' journey" from

[1] Num. 33: 16. [2] Num. 11: 18-23.

[3] Num. 11: 1-3; Deut. 9: 22. Taberah does not appear in the list of stations; nor is there any mention of a move from it to Kibroth-hattaavah.

[4] On this point, see Keil and Delitzsch's *Bib. Com.*, III., 64 *f.*; *Schaff-Lange Com.*: and *Speaker's Com.*, at Num. 11: 1-3.

[5] *Des. of Exod.*, I., 257-260. [6] So, *e. g.*, Bartlett, in *Egypt to Pal.*, pp. 285-299.

[7] See page 77 *ff.*, *supra*; also *Report of British Assoc.* for 1878, p. 622 *ff.*

[8] Num. 10: 33.

the original starting point of a caravan, in the East, is by no means so great a distance as a three days' journey at a later period in the course of a prolonged pilgrimage; for, as a rule, the *first* day's journey is hardly more than a preliminary movement for a start. Anyone familiar with Eastern travel will bear witness to this fact. For example, when I was to start from Suez for Mount Sinai, although everything was in readiness on the evening of my reaching Suez, and I was desirous of pushing forward speedily, I was detained until well into the afternoon of the next day, because, as I was told, the first night's rest *must* be at Ayoon Moosa, in sight of Suez, across the Red Sea; nor was my case an exception just here.

In describing the annual pilgrimage from Cairo to Mekkeh, Ebers[1] says: "After resting outside the walls for two or three days, the caravan sets out, and makes its first day's journey, of scarcely more than four hours, as far as the first station at Birkett el-Hajj, or the 'Pilgrim's Lake.'" A century ago, Niebuhr[2] reported the same point as the reach of his first day's journey from Cairo; and yet a century earlier, Thevenot[3] named it as his first stopping place on a similar journey. Four centuries ago, Breydenbach[4] and Fabri,[5] making a pilgrimage from Gaza to Sinai, noted their first night's stopping place as just outside of the town of Gaza. And so it has been with the first day's journey, in all the centuries in the unchanging East.

Hackett[6] has clustered facts in illustration of this point. He says of a "first day's" journey: "On that day it is not customary to go more than six or eight miles, and the tents are pitched for the first night's encampment almost within sight of the place from which the journey commences." Referring to his own experience in this line, he says: "The only reason that I heard assigned for

[1] *Pict. Egypt*, II., 130. [2] *Reiseb.*, pp. 212–217. [3] *Reisen*, I., 220.
[4] *Itiner.* [5] *Evagator.* II., 406. [6] *Illus. of Scrip.*, pp. 15–20.

starting thus late and stopping so early was, that it furnished an opportunity, if anything should prove to be forgotten, to return to the city and supply the deficiency." And he adds: "I find from books of travels, that we merely did in this respect what is customary for travelers in setting forth on a journey; and, further, that they give the same explanation of this peculiarity of the first day." Then he quotes to this effect from Maundrell, Richardson, Burckhardt, Miss Martineau, and others; and he shows the bearing of this on the narrative of the return of the parents of the Child Jesus to search for him in Jerusalem, when at the close of "a day's journey" he was not found in "the company."[1] And in this connection he notes the fact that the improbability of such a thing as this natural occurrence is one of the objections of Strauss to the accuracy of the Gospel narrative. Another illustration of imperfect knowledge as the basis of much of the modern "destructive criticism!"

In the light of this explanation, it will be seen that the first "three days' journey" from Sinai northward cannot fairly have been much more, if any, than an ordinary two days' journey; and that thirty miles is quite as long a distance for it as could be counted on. Hence a place not farther away from the Plain er-Râhah than Erways el-Ebayrig, must be taken as the first encamping station of the Israelites, at the close of that "three days' journey."

And so the encamping and the journeying went on. "At the commandment of the Lord the children of Israel journeyed, and at the commandment of the Lord they pitched: as long as the cloud abode upon the tabernacle they rested in their tents. . . . And so it was, when the cloud abode from even unto the morning, and that the cloud was taken up in the morning, then they journeyed: whether it was by day or by night that the cloud was taken

[1] Luke 2: 42-45.

up, they journeyed. Or whether it were two days, or a month, or a year, that the cloud tarried upon the tabernacle, remaining thereon, the children of Israel abode in their tents, and journeyed not: but when it was taken up they journeyed."[1] There is certainly not much ground in that record for claiming that the space between encampments was uniformly a day's distance.

The list of stations in Numbers 33: 1–49 would seem therefore, to be, not a list of all the halting places of the Israelites, but, a list of the places at which there was a formal encampment. Indeed the Hebrew word[2] translated variously in this list, "took their journey," "journeyed," "departed," "went," and "removed," implies, in its very form, a "breaking up," or a "pulling up stakes," as on the change of an encampment. Nor is there any place twice mentioned in this list, although we have reason to suppose that during the forty years the host, or at least its tabernacle and its headquarters, encamped more than once at the same place.[3] For example, in this list of stations, it is recorded that "they departed from Hashmonah and encamped at Moseroth. And they departed from Moseroth, and pitched in Bene-jaakan;" and so on to Hor-hagidgad, and Jotbathah. But in Deuteronomy 10: 6, 7, it is said, that they "took their journey from Beeroth of the children of Jaakan [the wells of Bene-jaakan] to Mosera" and so on to Gudgodah and Jotbath. The order of the stations in these two records is reversed, as if the places were visited in one order in going in one direction, and in reverse order in going the other way;[4] but in the complete list of stations no one place has received a second mention, unless indeed under another name, and that for

[1] Num. 9: 18, 21,22.

[2] וַיִּסְעוּ (*Vayyis'oo* "and they broke up.") See Keil and Delitzsch's *Bib. Com.*, III., 242.

[3] For a full discussion of this point, see Kurtz's *Hist. of Old Cov.*, III., §§ 30, 41; also see Keil and Delitzsch's *Bib. Com.*, as above.

[4] See Robinson, in *Bib. Repos.* Oct., 1832, p. 788.

an exceptional reason, as in the case of Kadesh—as will be shown.

There is one point which ought not to be overlooked, while inquiring if the order of stations throws light on the proximity of any two stations named consecutively. The same record that says: "They removed from Kadesh and pitched in Mount Hor," says also: "They removed from Ezion-gaber and pitched in the wilderness of Zin, which is Kadesh."[1] Now Ezion gaber is known to have been at or near the head of the eastern arm of the Red Sea —the Gulf of 'Aqabah.[2] The Israelites when making their journey for the compassing of Mount Seir, went "through the Way of the 'Arabah, [or by way of the 'Arabah Road,] from Elath and from Ezion-gaber;"[3] (and the Israelites seem never to have been in the Way of the 'Arabah, except at its southernmost end where it compassed Mount Seir.) Later, it is declared that King Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion-geber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red Sea, "in the land of Edom."[4] Now, if the stations named consecutively are to be reckoned as only a day's distance apart, it is clear that Kadesh, being only one remove from Ezion-gaber, and only one remove from Mount Hor, is at some point which is only a day's distance from either of those two places. This in itself would put Jebel Neby Hâroon out of the

[1] Num. 33: 36, 37.

[2] Winer (*Bibl. Realwörterb.* s. v. "Eziongeber") discusses this site, with comprehensiveness. He would find it at 'Aszyûn or 'Assiun, a place referred to by Makrizi, the Egyptian historian, as quoted by Burckhardt (*Travels in Syria*, p. 511.) Of this place Robinson (*Bib. Res.* I., 169 *f.*) thinks no traces are to be found; and he would find its site at Wady "el-Ghudyân, opening into el-'Arabah from the western mountain, some distance north of 'Akabah." "However different the names el-Ghudyân and Ezion may be in appearance, yet the letters in Arabic and Hebrew all correspond." Although this site is now ten miles or so north of the end of the gulf, Robinson thinks that formerly the waters extended thus far. "This probably is the best site for it." (*Smith-Hackett Bib. Dic.* s. v. "Ezion-gaber,")

[3] Deut. 2: 1–8. [4] 2 Chron. 8: 17.

question as a site of Mount Hor; for even a straight line (and it would be difficult to shorten *that*) between the Gulf of 'Aqabah and Jebel Neby Hâroon would be not less than three days' journey; if indeed it were less than four or five.[1] Nor have any sites for Kadesh and Mount Hor been named, which would bring Kadesh within a day's reach of Mount Hor on the one hand, and of Ezion-gaber on the other.

In short, everything combines to show that the mention of two stations in juxtaposition, in the record of the Israelites' journeyings, gives no indication of the nearness of those stations to each other; gives no reason for supposing that they are only a day's distance apart. Moreover it is evident that in some cases such nearness is an impossibility.

18. KADESH IN THE LIST OF STATIONS.

In the review list of stations in the thirty-third chapter of Numbers, the name of Kadesh does not appear until near the close of the forty years' wanderings;[2] when it is given in conjunction with Ezion-gaber and Mount Hor, as already noted. Yet it is evident that Kadesh was first reached within a short time after leaving Sinai;[3] moreover, that when the sentence of dispersion, or wandering, which was there passed upon the Israelites, was nearing its close, there was a re-assembling of the whole congregation at that sanctuary-stronghold, for a new move Canaanward.[4] The absence of any early mention of Kadesh in the list of stations has been a cause of much inquiry, and of much difference of opinion, among scholars.

[1] Robinson (*Bib. Repos.*, Oct. 1832, p. 786), says: "From Ezion-gaber to Kadesh . . . could not be much less than the whole length of the great valley of the Ghôr,—a distance not less than one hundred miles [say four to six days' journey] whatever might be the exact situation of Kadesh."

[2] Num. 33: 36, 37. [3] Num. 13: 26. See pages 19–24, *supra*. [4] Num. 20: 1.

It has been claimed by some,[1] that the mention of Kadesh in this list is in reference to it in its proper place, on the occasion of the first, if not indeed of the only, visit to that station; . . . and that all of the twenty stations preceding it, after leaving Sinai, were visited before Kadesh was ever reached. But this view of the case seems to be as inconsistent with the Bible narrative, as it is improbable on its face.[2] An examination of the text will hardly fail to make clear the truth in the matter.

The narrative records, that after the great plague at Kibroth-hattaavah, "the people journeyed from Kibroth-hattaavah; and abode at Hazeroth."[3] Hazeroth was therefore the second encampment from Sinai.[4] There, again, was a delay. There "Miriam and Aaron spake against Moses," and Miriam was smitten with leprosy. "And Miriam was shut out from the camp seven days: and the people journeyed not till Miriam was brought in again. And afterward the people removed from Hazeroth, and pitched in the Wilderness of Paran."[5] The third encampment, therefore, was "in the Wilderness of Paran." In what part of that wilderness? Light is thrown on this question also, by the narrative itself. It was clearly at the encampment in the Wilderness of Paran that the spies were sent into Canaan. The record is explicit on that point. "And Moses by the commandment of the Lord sent them from the Wilderness of Paran."[6] But Moses, after this, declares, as to

[1] So Ewald (*Hist. of Israel.*, II., 202, note); Laborde (*Com. Géog. sur l' Exod.*, p. 118); Von Gerlach (*Com. on Pent.*, in loco); Ritter (as cited in Kurtz's *Hist. of Old Cov.*, III., 218); Lowrie (in *Schaff-Lange Com.*, at Num. 14: 25); Palmer (*Des. of Exod.*, II., 513 *f.*): and others.

[2] Kurtz (*Hist. of Old Cov.*, III., 218 *ff.*), while showing the untenableness of this view, deems it "inexplicable" that a careful commentator should be "able to adhere to so unfortunate a supposition, which is expressly contradicted on all hands by the biblical narrative, and even in itself is inconceivable."

[3] Num. 11: 33–35.

[4] Num. 33: 16, 17.

[5] Num. 12: 1–16.

[6] Num. 13: 3.

the place of sending: "I sent them from Kadesh-barnea to see the land."[1] This would look as if the Wilderness of Paran and Kadesh-barnea were used interchangably in this record; and as if to put this point beyond all question, it is recorded of the return of the spies: "And they went and came to Moses, and to Aaron, and to all the congregation of the children of Israel, unto the Wilderness of Paran, to Kadesh."[2] That would seem to fix it as plainly as words can fix it, that the encampment in the Wilderness of Paran was the first encampment at Kadesh: and this being so, Kadesh-barnea was the third regular encampment after leaving Sinai.

There is an incidental confirmation of this, in two general, or inclusive, statements of the first journey across the desert. In Numbers 10: 11, 12, it is said, as preliminary to a detailed account of the journeyings: "And it came to pass on the twentieth day of the second month, in the second year, that the cloud was taken up from off the tabernacle of the testimony. And the children of Israel took their journeys out of the Wilderness of Sinai; and the cloud rested in the Wilderness of Paran." That this statement covers a series of moves, instead of being confined to a single stage, is evident from the context; for it is after this that the narrative begins in detail: "And they first took their journey;"[3] and again: "And they departed from the mount of the Lord three days' journey;"[4] and so on, stage by stage. Moreover the text itself, in the Hebrew, shows that it is a series of moves which is referred to, and not the first move of a series, merely: "And the sons of Israel pulled up stakes according to their breaking camps;[5] out of the Wilderness of Sinai [as their starting point]; and the cloud rested [at their destination] in the Wilderness of Paran."[6]

[1] Num. 32: 8. [2] Num. 13: 26. [3] Num. 10: 13. [4] Num. 10: 33.

[5] וַיִּסְעוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל לְמַסְעֵיהֶם. (*Vayyis'oo benai Yisrael lemas'aihem.*

[6] See Kurtz's *Hist. of Old Cov.*, III., 192, with quotations from Ranke and Hengstenberg; also Keil and Delitzsch's *Bib. Com.*, III., 56 *f.*; *Schaff-Lange Com.*, "Exodus and Leviticus," General Introduction, p. 21.

Or, as the similar general statement in Deuteronomy 1: 19 gives it: "And when we departed from Horeb, we went through all that great and terrible wilderness, which ye saw by the Way of the Mountain of the Amorites, as the Lord our God commanded us; and we came to Kadesh-barnea."

In other words the first great move of the Israelites as an organized people was from Sinai, the sanctuary where they had received their formal charter of nationality, to Kadesh-barnea, the sanctuary on the borders of Canaan, whence they were to enter into the land of their national inheritance. In passing over the "eleven days" distance, which separated these sanctuaries by the course they journeyed, they encamped at only two intervening stations. The other stops were but for bivouac.

Yet in the formal list of stations, in Numbers 33: 16–37, the third station from Sinai is given as neither Kadesh-barnea nor the Wilderness of Paran; although we have seen that in the narrative of the journeyings those two names are used interchangeably for the encampment next after Hazeroth. "Rithmah" here appears as the third station in the list; and this suggests the question whether Rithmah was an earlier name for Kadesh.

As we have already had occasion to consider,[1] "Kadesh" was probably not the original name of the encircled stronghold in the mountains,—which became a sanctuary, and therefore was known as "Holy" ("Qadhesh,") when the tabernacle found a resting-place there. What its original name was, is now the question. "Rithmah"[2] means, literally, Place of Rothem, or Place of Broom.[3] The "rothem," or "broom," is the desert-shrub, or bush, which the Vulgate and our King James Version wrongly translate "juniper."[4] Its Arabic name is retem,[5] or rethem.[6] It

[1] See page 43, *supra.*

[2] The Hebrew is רִתְמָה (*Rithmah.*)

[3] See Gesenius, and Fürst, *s. v.*

[4] Job 30: 4; 1 Kings 19: 4, 5; Psa. 120: 4.

[5] Freytag's *Lex.*, s. v. رَتَم.

[6] رَثَم. Burckhardt's *Trav. in Syria*, p. 483.

is the bush which is more commonly used for burning, and its roots for the making of charcoal.[1] It certainly supplies a not unnatural name for a station on the desert's verge.

The recognition of the site of Kadesh in the station Rithmah, is not a modern thought merely. It has been approved by many scholars during the course of many centuries. Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac, or "Rashi,"[2] the famous rabbinical writer of the eleventh century, held to it.[3] Since his day it has been repeatedly brought out by critical commentators and other Bible students; for example: Adrichomius,[4] Raleigh,[5] Fürer,[6] Quaresmius,[7] Ainsworth,[8] Drusius,[9] Pool,[10] Patrick,[11] Calmet,[12] Cellarius,[13] Brown,[14] Robinson,[15] Schwarz,[16] Kitto,[17] Fries,[18] Kurtz,[19] Keil and Delitzsch,[20] Wilton,[21] Forster,[22] Rowlands,[23] Wordsworth,[24] Tristram,[25] Fausset,[26] Riehm,[27] Edersheim,[28] Espin and Thrupp;[29] and again it has

[1] Burckhardt's *Trav. in Syr.*, p. 483; Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, I., 84, 189; II., 203, 205.

[2] This rabbi, called "Rashi" from the Hebrew initials of his name, was a famous Talmudic scholar of French birth, who lived from A. D. 1040 to A. D. 1105. His comments on Scripture are regarded by orthodox Jews as of very high authority.

[3] *'al ha-Torah*, at Num. 33: 18.

[4] *Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ*, p. 215 *a*.

[5] *Hist. of World*, Bk. II., chap. 5, § 4.

[6] *Reis-Beschreib.*, p. 354.

[7] *Hist. Theol. et Moral. Terræ Sanctæ*, p. 25.

[8] Cited in Pool's *Synops. Crit.* at Num. 33: 18.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Annotations.*

[11] *Crit. Com.* at Num. 20: 1.

[12] *Dict. of Holy Bible*, s. v. "Rithmah."

[13] *Geog. Antiq.*, Vol. II., maps at p. 390.

[14] *Dict. of Bible*, s. v. "Rithmah."

[15] "On the Exodus" in *Bib. Repos.*, for Oct. 1832, p. 791. He speaks of "Rithmah, probably a station in the desert near to Kadesh;" and of "Rithmah, or the desert of Kadesh."

[16] *Geog. of Pal.*, p. 212.

[17] *Scrip. Lands*, "General Index," p. 56.

[18] *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1854, p. 57.

[19] *Hist. of Old Cov.*, III., 244.

[20] *Bib. Com.*, III., 243 *f.*

[21] *The Negeb*, p. 80.

[22] *Israel in Wild.*, pp. 122–128.

[23] *Imp. Bib. Dic.*, s. v. "Rithmah."

[24] *Bible with Notes* at Num. 33: 18.

[25] *Bible Places*, p. 6.

[26] *Bib. Cyc.*, s. v. "Rithmah."

[27] *Handwörterb.* s. v. "Lagerstätten:" "Rithmah is ordinarily held to be the station from which the spies were sent out."

[28] *Exod. and Wand.*, p. 172.

[29] *Speaker's Com.*, note on Num. 13: 26, and at 33: 18.

appeared in the margin of various editions of the Bible, from Leo Juda's,[1] and the Genevan,[2] to the Bagsters.[3] Yet notwithstanding this array of authorities, the identification has been often lost sight of, and has again been wrought out anew from the text by some student who was unaware of the similar work done by so many before him. Indeed there could hardly be a better illustration than is here furnished of the liability of students to overlook the successful researches of predecessors in their own field of inquiry. In my own case, when I had tracked out the identity of Rithmah with Kadesh, by the above described process of proof, I thought it an original discovery. But on looking up the authorities, I was surprised not only at the evidence of its prominence for centuries back, but also at the repeated recurrence of the very error into which I had fallen, of counting an old truth a new discovery. Thus the scholarly Wilton[4] refers to this identification as if it were first proposed by Kurtz, and adds: "I had been fully persuaded of this identification many years before I saw it advocated by Professor Kurtz." Kurtz,[5] again, gives the credit of the discovery to Fries,[6] who, in turn, probably had no thought of claiming it as an original suggestion. And even after Wilton, Forster[7] came out with it as his own, expressing surprise that no suspicion of it had been awakened in modern times. But all this is only added proof that the evidence of the truth lies in the Bible text itself; and that a careful student of that text is likely to find it for himself, even if he has no hint of it from any one of his many predecessors.

It must be said, however, that eminent scholars, as for instance,

[1] Published at Zurich, A. D., 1550. [2] London, A. D. 1581.

[3] *Comprehensive Bible*, A. D. 1846. There may also be named, as approving this identification, a Dutch Bible published by Jacobszoon and Bonwenszoon, at Leyden, A. D. 1596, and Van der Palm's (Leyden, A. D. 1818.)

[4] *The Negeb*, (published in 1863) p. 80, note.

[5] *Hist. of Old Cov.*, III., 215. [6] In *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1854.

[7] *Israel in Wild.*, chap. III., (published in 1865.)

Hengstenberg, Baumgarten, Lengerke,[1] and Lange,[2] would find in the station "Bene-jaakan,"[3] the first stop at Kadesh; while Von Raumer[4] coolly counts up the stations for the "eleven days"[5] between Sinai and Kadesh, and by this sum in simple arithmetic finds Kadesh at Tahath.[6] But it is sufficient to refer the comparative claims of Bene-jaakan and Rithmah, for this identification, to the Bible text, as above cited. Von Raumer's count is of no account.

A suggested objection[7] to "the view that takes Rithmah to be another name for Kadesh" is that this "imputes to the catalogue" of stations in Numbers "an arbitrariness in the use of names that would make it worthless for that purpose for which it was evidently recorded." But this objection appears to be fully met in the facts of the case. If, as is probable, Kadesh was not the original name of the station which subsequently bore that name, but Rithmah was,—then it would be both natural and proper to give to that place its name Rithmah, in the mention of a visit to it when Rithmah was its only name; and again to give to it the name Kadesh, in the mention of a subsequent visit to it when it had acquired the name of Kadesh. From the various Bible references to the place in question, it would seem that its original name was Rithmah; that, when it became the resting place of the tabernacle, it was called Kadesh; that, when it had become the place where sentence of judgment was passed on the Israelites, it was called En-mishpat;[8] that, when it was a place of murmuring and strife to a new generation, it was called Meribah. In this view of

[1] See Winer's *Bibl. Realwörterb*, s. v., "Wüste, arabische."

[2] *Schaff-Lange Com.*, at Num. 33: 32–35, 41–43.

[3] Num. 33: 31, 32.

[4] *Der Zug der Israeliten*, p. 41.

[5] Deut. 1: 2.

[6] Num. 33: 26, 27.

[7] Lowrie, in *Schaff-Lange Com.*, at Num. 14: 1–45.

[8] Gen. 14: 7. Supposing the Book of Genesis to have been written during the period of the wanderings, it seems natural for Moses to mention this place, in the

the case, it would be eminently fitting to designate the place as Rithmah on its first visit, and as Kadesh on its second; especially as the explanation of the correspondence and of the difference is made clear in the context.

This finding the probable identity of Kadesh with Rithmah, gives another clue to the locating of Kadesh. The name Rithmah still stands in the desert, in its Arabic form—Aboo Retemât.[1] Rithmah, as has been shown, means Place of Retem. Aboo Retemât means the same. And the wady which bears this name[2] is in the immediate vicinity of the very point already designated as the probable halting place of Kedor-la'omer, because of its being the common junction of all the roads into Canaan on that side of the desert.[3] It is quite in accordance with the tendency of things in the East, to have the original name thus survive all later changes.[4] Moreover the fact that this name Rithmah just here is an ancient one,[5] is further shown by its Arabic form Retemât being applied to a tribe of Arabs[6] who claim the region as their home.

record of Kedor-la'omer's march, as En-mishpat, by which it was now known to the Israelites; and to add the explanation that it was the place which they had before known as their Kadesh.

[1] ابو رتمات

[2] Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, I., 189; Bonar's *Des. of Sinai*, p. 292.

[3] See page 42, *supra*.

[4] For example: Accho (Judges 1: 13) became Ptolemais, but it is now Akka, or Acre; Bethshan (1 Sam. 31: 10, 12; 2 Sam. 21: 12), or Bethshean (Josh. 17: 11, 16; Judges 1: 27; 1 Kings 4: 12; 1 Chron. 7: 29), became Scythopolis, but is now Besan; Lydda (Acts 9: 32, 35, 38) became Diospolis, but is now Ludd; and so on.

[5] The *Speaker's Commentary* (at Note on Num. 13: 26) affirms that the broom (retem) "probably gave a name to many localities," and mentions *one* place elsewhere (in quite another region) which bore another form of this name. But as the form which corresponds with "Rithmah" is found only at this one point in all the region where Kadesh may be, or has been, looked for, it certainly is an important element in the locating of Kadesh. It is true that it *might have been* in half a dozen places; but in fact it *is* in only one—in the upper desert.

[6] The Beny Retaymât (رتيمات). See Burckhardt's *Beduinen und Wahaby*, pp. 312, 602.

It appears, therefore, that an examination of the formal list of stations tends to identify Kadesh with Rithmah of that list; and that there is a reasonable trace of Rithmah in Wady Aboo Retemât, over against the very portion of the 'Azâzimeh mountain tract within which all our studies up to this time have combined for the locating of Kadesh.

And this completes an examination of all the references to Kadesh-barnea in the entire Bible text, which can fairly be looked to as giving any indication of its locality. The very earliest mention of this place is in a connection which would seem to put it in the heart of the Azâzimeh mountain tract, at some point eastward of Jebel Muwaylih and of Wady Aboo Retemât—near which all the great highways of the desert come together in a common trunk; and every subsequent mention of the place either points directly to the same locality, or is conformable to it. Unless, therefore, some weighty reasons against this site should be ascertained outside of the Bible text, it would seem to be fixed within the limits named, beyond fair questioning.

III.

KADESH-BARNEA.

ANCIENT REFERENCES TO IT OUTSIDE OF THE BIBLE TEXT.

KADESH-BARNEA.

1. IN THE EGYPTIAN RECORDS.

Having examined the various Bible references to Kadesh-barnea, in order to its locating, it is important to search the ancient records outside of the Bible, to ascertain if any light is thrown on this site by references to it in them.

First in order come the Egyptian records. Indeed it is only *there*, that there is a possibility of any evidence contemporaneous with the Mosaic narrative. Modern investigations have disclosed much geographical information concerning the lands of the Bible story, in the monuments and papyri of ancient Egypt; and it would not be unreasonable to hope to find incidental references in those records, to such a point of strategic importance in military movements as Kadesh-barnea would seem to have been from the days of Kedor-la'omer onward.

The name Kadesh, or Qodesh,—the Sanctuary,—appears very frequently in the Egyptian records, as designating a stronghold of the Kheta, or Hittites, in the north of Syria; supposed to be near the Lake of Hums; and there are good reasons for thinking that the same name is applied at times, in those records, to one site, or more, in the region of Syria, or Upper Canaan (the land of the Rutennu, or the Lutennu, of the monuments), apart from the Hittite sacred stronghold.

Kadesh on the Orontes, or Kadesh of the Hittites, is a centre of interest in important campaigns of the Pharaohs of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth dynasties;[1] notably Thotmes III., Setee I., and Rameses II. Its capture by one Pharaoh after another is celebrated in song and story in the papyri and on the monuments, and is pictured in glowing colors on the temple walls of Egypt. The poem of Pentaur,[2] reciting the valor of Rameses the Great in the overthrow of Kadesh of the Hittites, as repeated again and again in manuscript and in stone, is given a living freshness to the readers of to-day by the graphic pen of Ebers in his historical romance Uarda. This Kadesh, however, is obviously not the Kadesh-barnea of the Negeb.

But in the list of conquered towns of Canaan and Syria, in the Hall of Pillars at Karnak,[3] there is clearly a second Kadesh, or Qodesh, or Kedes,[4] apparently (from its order in the list) farther south than Kadesh of the Hittites; and again there are frequent references on the monuments to a Kadesh of the Amorites, or "Kadesh in the territory of the Amorites." Brugsch,[5] and Lenormant and Chevallier,[6] are confident that Kadesh of the Hittites and Kadesh of the Amorites are one; but they do not ignore the fact that a second Kadesh farther south in Canaan is named on the Egyptian monuments. Chabas, on the other hand, would distin-

[1] See Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 388–401; II., 15–18; 46–65; *Rec. of Past*, Vols. II., IV., VI., VIII., passim; Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.*, I., 257; Miss Edwards's *Up the Nile*, pp. 204, 206, 436–443; Villiers Stuart's *Nile Gleanings*, pp. 172–177; Tomkins's "The Campaign of Rameses II. in his Fifth Year against Kadesh on the Orontes," in *Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.*, Vol. VII., Part. 3.

[2] De Rouge's *Le Poëme de Pen-Ta-Our*; also in *Rec. of Past*, II., pp. 65–78; and in Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 56–65.

[3] See Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 389–394; Conder's "Palestine before Joshua," in *Surv. of West. Pal.*, "Special Papers," pp. 177–194.

[4] Comp. No. 1 and No. 48 in that list.

[5] *Geog. des Alt. Ægypt*, I., 59–61, 67; also *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 394; II., 16.

[6] *Anc. Hist. of East*, II., 150.

guish between Kadesh of the Hittites and Kadesh of the Amorites, and he would identify the latter with Kadesh-barnea.[1]

This is a claim worthy of our notice. In incidental proof of the non-identity of Kadesh of the Hittites, and Kadesh of the Amorites,—the southernmost Kadesh,—Chabas insists that the Egyptian records show that the country of the Amorites was at some distance southward, from the region of the Orontes; and this the Bible record also shows. Moreover, in the pictured, or sculptured, representation of the campaign against Kadesh of the Amorites, the latter place is "represented as standing on a hill side, with a stream on one side, and surrounded by trees;"[2] and thus it is "most plainly distinguished from the Kodesh of the Kheta (Hittites) on the Orontes, which is in a flat country on a recess of a lake, girdled by a double moat with bridges."[3]

Again there are references on the temple walls and in the papyri to a Qodesh, or Kadesh, and a Dapur, or Dapour, or Tapura, in apparent proximity, in the land of Canaan, or the land of the Rutennu.[4] And in an inscription above a representation of the second of these fortresses, in the record of the conquests of Rameses II., in his temple at Thebes, it is called "Dapur in the land of the Amorites;"[5] as Qodesh is elsewhere called "Kadesh in the territory of the Amorites."[6] Among the proposed identifications of these two sites, Chabas,[7] followed by Tomkins,[8] advocates Debir[9] below Hebron, and Kadesh-barnea farther southward.

[1] *Études sur l'Ant. Hist.*, p. 266 *f.*

[2] See Rosellini's *Monumenti*, LIII.

[3] Tomkins's *Times of Abraham*, p. 84; also his paper, as above, in *Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.*, Vol. VII., Pt. 3; Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.*, I., 259; Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 48-52.

[4] See "Travels of an Egyptian," in *Rec. of Past*, Vol. II., p. 111; Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 107-114; *Surv. of West. Pal.*, "Special Papers," pp. 163-176.

[5] Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 67; Birch's *Egypt*, p. 122.

[6] Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 16.

[7] *Études sur l'Ant. Hist.*, p. 264 *ff*.

[8] *Times of Abraham*, p. 84.

[9] Josh. 10: 36-39. See also page 103, *ff.*, *supra*.

Such an identification, on such authority, ought not to be passed without examination, in a search for traces of Kadesh-barnea.

There are weighty objections to both these identifications, and equally weighty reasons in favor of other identifications. The order of the narrative in the Anastasi Papyrus,[1] in the course of which Qodesh and Dapur are mentioned together, would indicate the upper portion of Samaria and the lower portion of Galilee, rather than southern Judah, as the region referred to;[2] and the same may be said of the place of the fortresses in the inscriptions on the walls at Thebes.[3] Moreover, the pictured delineations of the two fortresses in question furnish evidence that they are not Debir and Kadesh-barnea, but that they are Tabor[4] and Kedesh-Naphtali;[5] as can easily be shown.

Whether the name "Tabor" is or is not connected with the ancient name "Dapur" or "Tapura," of the Egyptian records, the name of Debooreyeh,[6] at the western base of Mount Tabor, is clearly a record of the ancient Daberath or Dabareh, of the days of Joshua,[7] and so of the days of the Egyptian records in question; as also of the Dabira of Eusebius and Jerome.[8] And the fortress

[1] See *Rec. of Past*, Vol. II., pp. 109–116.

[2] See Conder's "First Traveler in Palestine," in *Surv. of West. Pal.*, "Special Papers," 168 *f.*

[3] Birch (*Egypt*, p. 122), and Brugsch (*Hist. of Egypt*, II., 67, 110), favor this identification, although they do not attempt any proof of it. Conder (as above, p. 169) thinks that Dapour is "probably the Diblath of Ezek. 6: 14;" but he misses the connection with *Debooreyeh* at Mount Tabor.

[4] Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 67.

[5] Brugsch (*Hist. of Egypt*, II., 110) identifies the Kadesh here linked with Dapur as Kedes (the present name of Kedesh-Naphtali.) Conder (as above) claims the identification as his own.

[6] See Von Schubert's *Reise*, III., 174; Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, II., 350 *f.*; Wilson's *Lands of Bible*, II., 90; Van de Velde's *Reise*, II. 324, 331; Rückert's *Reise*, p. 327; Ritter's *Geog. of Pal.*, II., 314; *Surv. of West. Pal.*, "Name Lists," p. 125; Tristram's *Bible Places*, p. 235.

[7] Josh. 19: 12; 21: 28.

[8] *Onomast.* s. v. "Dabira." This place is apparently the one called "Buria" by William of Tyre (*Gesta Dei*, p. 1026.)

which crowned the mountain would naturally bear the name of the city which it covered and protected. Now Mount Tabor is unique among mountains, rising as it does all by itself from a level plain. And the Egyptian representation of the fortress of Dapur shows just such a mountain as that, separate and distinct from other mountains, and with a citadel crowning its entire surface.[1] This agrees most admirably with the Tabor identification; but it is quite inconsistent with the identification at Debir below Hebron, the site of which is found in Dhahareeyeh,[2] where is a ridge or hill side, but no such separate mountain summit.

And the evidence for the identification of the lower Kadesh, of the Amorites, with Kedesh-Naphtali, in the Egyptian delineation of its fortress, is as distinct and positive as is that in the case of Dapur. As has been already mentioned,[3] the fortress of Kadesh of the Hittites is well known as on a plain, and as surrounded with a bridged moat; while the lower Kadesh is on a hill-side, with a stream below it. Now the site of Kedesh-Naphtali, which was a royal city when the Israelites entered Canaan,[4] and which was made a city of refuge after their occupation,[5] is described by travelers in a manner to conform it peculiarly to the Egyptian picturing. It still bears the name Kedes,[6] and is a short distance northwest of Huleh Lake, or the Waters of Merom. Tristram says of it: "Situated on an eastern slope, behind it rise the bare but herbage-clad hills, where flocks and herds camped for the greater part of the year. The town stood on a knoll, where it could not easily be surprised. Just below it gushed forth a copious spring, caught in various ancient reservoirs, for the use of man and

[1] See Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.*, I., 243; Rawlinson's *Hist. of Anc. Egypt*, I., 482; also Tomkins's *Times of Abraham*, p. 86.

[2] See page 103 *ff.*, *supra*. [3] See page 161, *supra*. [4] Josh. 12: 22; 19: 32–37.

[5] Josh. 20: 7–9; Judges 7: 6–12; 2 Kings 15: 29; 1 Chron. 6: 76.

[6] See Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, III., 364 *ff.*; *Surv. of West. Pal.*, "Memoirs," Vol. I., pp. 226–230.

beast. Then, down a gentle slope, there were several hundred acres of olive groves; and beyond these a rich alluvial plain." This certainly is very like the Egyptian picture, which shows Qodesh of the Amorites "as standing on a hill side, with a stream on one side, and surrounded by trees."[1]

It is a noteworthy fact, that the Talmud refers to Kadesh-Naphtali as Kadesh of the mountains,[2] which is practically the same as Kadesh of the Amorites. And it certainly accords better with many of the Egyptian references[3] to the Kadesh of the Amorites as in reasonable proximity to the plain of Megiddo, to suppose that this Kadesh, or Kateshu, was Kadesh-Naphtali rather than Kadesh on the Orontes.

At all events a careful examination of the facts seems to show unmistakably, that the second Kadesh, or Qodesh, of the Canaanitish lists in Egypt, is not Kadesh-barnea, as Chabas and Tomkins have suggested. Nor, in fact, have we any reason for supposing that Kadesh-barnea bore the name Kadesh—by which to be noted on the Egyptian records—before the presence there of the sacred tabernacle of the Hebrews. Moreover, as has been shown,[4] it is

[1] "The site is beautiful—the summit and sides of a little ridge projecting from wooded heights on the west into a green plain." (Porter's *Giant Cities*, p. 271.)

"Unlike the many towns we had visited on rocky hill-tops, Kedesh-Naphtali occupies a gently-sloping descent to a pretty vale." (Dulles's *Ride Through Pal.*, p. 360.)

[2] "*Kedesch, dans la montagne de Nephthali,*" quoted from the Babylonian Talmud, Makkoth, 9 b., in Neubauer's *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 55.

And Porter (*Giant Cities*, p. 262) says: "The Naphtalites were the Highlanders of Palestine." Naturally, therefore, those who preceded them in that region were "the Highlanders"—the Amorites—of Canaan; and their Kedesh was the "Kedesh of the Amorites."

[3] See "Annals of Thothmes III. Account of the Battle of Megiddo," in *Rec. of Past*, II., 37–58. The "Kateshu" first named in these "Annals" (pp. 38, 43) would seem to be the lower Kadesh; while that named in the king's later progress (p. 51 *f.*) would seem to be the upper one.

See also Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 368–386; Lenormant and Chevallier's *Anc. Hist. of East*, I., 231 *f.*

[4] See page 88 *f.*, *supra*.

not to be supposed that there was any fortress at Kadesh-barnea to be captured by Hebrews or Egyptians.

2. IN THE APOCRYPHA.

Next in order to the Egyptian records, comes the Apocrypha. This contains but a single locating of the southernmost Kadesh;[1] and that is in a list of places, in Judith 1: 7–10, to which a message was sent by "the king of the Assyrians:" "To all that were in Samaria and the cities thereof, and beyond Jordan unto Jerusalem, and Betane, and Chellus, and Kades, and the river of Egypt, and Taphnes, and Ramesse, and all the land of Gesem."

Here it is evident that the geographical order of the places named is from "beyond the Jordan,"[2] or, from near the Jordan, southerly and westerly, by way of Jerusalem toward Egypt. After Jerusalem comes "Betane." This is probably the Beth-anoth[3] of Joshua 15: 59, fairly identified by Wolcott[4] in the Bayt 'Ainoon of to-day, a short distance north of Hebron; this latter identification being approved by Robinson[5] and Winer[6] and Palmer[7] and Tristram,[8] and being in keeping with the view of Reland[9] and Grove.[10] Of the important ruins of this site, with their ancient watering-place cisterns, Tristram says: "Near them was the great highway to Egypt, and traces of the ancient paved

1 "Cades, which is in Galilee," or Kedesh-Naphtali, is twice mentioned, in I Maccabees 11: 63, 73. One reading of Judith 5: 4 mentions Kadesh-barnea.

2 "Here this phrase means, not as commonly the country east of the Jordan, but that lying west of the river." (*Schaff-Bissell Apocrypha*, in loco.)

3 So says "Movers, followed by Fritzsche, Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, and other authorities" (*Schaff-Bissell Apoc.*, p. 169.) The suggestion of Rawlinson (*Herod.*, II., 460) that Batanæa, or Bashan, is intended, is quite inconsistent with the geographical order of the text.

4 *Bib. Sac.*, February, 1843, p. 57 *f.* 5 *Bib. Res.*, III., 281.

6 *Bib. Realwörterb.*, s. v. "Betane."

7 *Survey of West. Pal.*, "Name Lists," p. 397. 8 *Bible Places*, p. 68 *f.*

9 *Palæstina*, p. 625. 10 *Smith-Hackett Bib. Dic.*, s. v. "Betane."

road remain, and marks of wheel-ruts, where no wheeled carriage has passed for centuries." This indicates a reason for naming this station on the way Egyptward.

Next to "Betane" is "Chellus," or, Chelus.[1] This is naturally thought by Reland[2] and Grove[3] to be the Khulasah,[4] or Chalutza, or Elusa, which was a centre of pagan worship,[5] and lay south-westerly from Beersheba. Winer[6] would find in Chellus the ancient Halhul;[7] but as this name still stands "Halhûl,"[8] it seems hardly probable that it would have been known, at any time between the early and later period, as "Chellus." In a list of episcopal and arch-episcopal towns in the see of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, made up early in the sixth century,[9] two stations at the east of the arch-episcopate of Gaza are named, as "Chalasa" and "Cholus,"[10] or, as "Elusa" and "Elas."[11] The second of these two stations would correspond yet more closely with Chelus; and this is not improbably the place referred to as "el-Khûlûs," in the Arabic version of the Polyglot Bible, as standing for Gerar, in Genesis 20: 1, 2; 26: 1, as mentioned by Reland,[12] Robinson,[13] and Stewart,[14] rather than "Elusa" as they supposed. But whichever of the three sites be accepted for Chellus, the direction is still southerly and westerly, from above Hebron toward the borders of Egypt.

After "Chellus," between that and "the river of Egypt," or Wady el-'Areesh, comes "Kades." And just here is where we should expect to find "Kades," or Kadesh-barnea, in view of all

[1] *Schaff-Bissell Apocrypha*, in loco. [2] Palæstina, p. 717.

[3] *Smith-Hackett Bib. Dic.*, s. v. "Chellus."

[4] *Bib. Res.*, I., 201 *f.*; Palmer's *Des. of Exod.*, II., 385 *f.*, 423, Bartlett's *Egypt to Pal.*, p. 401 *f.*

[5] Jerome's *Vita Hilarionis*. [6] *Bib. Realwörterb.*, s. v. "Chellus." [7] Josh. 15: 58.

[8] *Robinson's Bib. Res.* III., 281 *f.*; Jerome's *De Locis Hebraicis*, s. v. "Elul."

[9] Quoted in the Appendix to Palmer's *Des. of Exod.*, II., 550 *ff.*

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 552. [11] Reland's *Palæstina*, pp. 217, 218. [12] *Ibid.*, p. 805.

[13] *Bib. Res.*, I., 202, note. [14] *Tent and Khan*, p. 208.

the biblical indications of its site. It is at the southern extremity of Palestine, at the turning point westward of the boundary line toward Wady el-'Areesh. And so the Apocrypha agrees with the Old Testament text in the location of Kadesh-barnea.

3. IN THE RABBINICAL WRITINGS.

And now for the help of the rabbinical writings, in our search for light on Kadesh-barnea and its locating. And at first it seems a darkening of counsel that comes to us, in words without knowledge; but those words will bear studying.

In the Targums, and in the Talmud instead of Kadesh, and of Kadesh-barnea, we find another term substituted; namely, "Reqam," or "Reqem-Giah," in several diverse but not materially different forms.[1] The reason and significance of this substitutionary term has been a matter of much discussion and of no little confusion among earlier and later commentators. An added element of confusion is the fact that the same term, "Reqem," is, in one instance at least, applied in the Talmud to Petra,[2] or the Rock City, at the east, or the southeast, of the Holy Land.

Josephus,[3] followed by Eusebius[4] and Jerome[5] and many

[1] In the Targums:

The *Pseudo-Jonathan*, at Num. 34: 4, and elsewhere: רקם גיעא, *reqam gee'â.*

The *Jerusalem:* רקם דגיעא, *reqam degai'â.*

Onkelos: רקם, *reqam.*

In the *Babylonian Talmud:*

In Siphrai, § 'Eqeb, and in treatise, Tosiphtha, Shebiith, chap. 3, רקם גיאה, *reqem geeah.*

In the *Jerusalem Talmud:*

In Shebiith, 6: 1, רקם דגועה, *reqem dego'ah.*

In the *Yalqoot*, § 'Eqeb, רקם גאיה, *reqem gaih.*

[2] In Gitteen, 1: 1, רקם, *reqem.*

[3] *Antiq.*, Bk. IV., Chap. 7, § 1.

[4] *Onomast.*, s.vv., "Arcem," "Petra," "Recem."

[5] *De Loc. Heb.*, s.vv., "Arcem," "Petra," "Recem."

others, suggested that this name Reqam—which *he* applies exclusively to Petra—was given in honor of Rekem, a Midianitish king slain by the Hebrews under Phinehas on the plains of Moab, east of the Jordan.[1] But as this name is applied by the rabbis to Kadesh, the sanctuary of the Hebrews, we may be sure that it had some other signification than this. To suppose that they would call that sacred site by the name of an accursed chieftain slain by the sword of the Lord, is as unreasonable as it would be to suppose that the early Christians of Damascus had named a church "Ananias" in honor of the husband of Sapphira.[2]

That the term Reqam in the rabbinical writings is commonly applied to Kadesh-barnea, and that the location of Kadesh-barnea as thus designated corresponds with the biblical indications of its site—not far eastward of the great caravan route between Egypt and Syria—would seem clear on an examination of those writings. In several name-lists of places given in the Talmud,[3] as marking the boundaries of the Holy Land, the starting point is Askelon. Running northward along the western boundary, and thence eastward and southward, the line indicated by these lists returns along the southern side, westerly to its starting point—Askelon. On this route, "Reqem-Giah" occurs on the southern line, in proximity to Askelon and "the great road which leadeth to the desert." But it is also evident, as before noted, that there is a second Reqam—not a second Kadesh—referred to in those writings as on the eastern border of the Holy Land, or just beyond it. This Reqam is probably the "Petra" mentioned by Josephus, Eusebius, and Jerome; which mention has been the occasion of so much doubt and confusion.

A careful talmudic scholar[4] of two centuries ago touches this

[1] Num. 31: 1–8. [2] Comp. Acts 5: 1–11; 9: 10.

[3] See a table of these lists, facing page 11, in Neubauer's *Géog. du Talmud.*

[4] Johannis Othonis *Lex. Rabbin. Philolog.* (Geneva, A. D. 1675), *s. v.*, "Cadesh-Barnea."

point when he says: "'Kadesh-barnea,' and 'Kadesh' simply, are translated 'Rekam' by all the Oriental interpreters. . . . . Rekam was the boundary of the land of Israel, yet so that it was to be esteemed as outside the land. . . . There were two noteworthy places named Rekam on the limits of the land; one was Kadesh on the southern side; but the other, Kadesh [Rekam] on the eastern side concerning which Rabbi Nissim speaks in Gittin I., when he says, Rekam [Petra] itself is considered as the east of the world—as Gentile territory, not as Israelitish territory." The passage in Gitteen here referred to, shows that there is an eastern "Rekam" (as Josephus and others say Petra is called); but it does not show that there is an eastern Kadesh.[1]

The learned Lightfoot,[2] tracking this matter "by the light of the Talmud," notes that "the Eastern interpreters" render Kadesh by "Rekam, or in a sound very near it;" and that there are two places mentioned as Rekam, by those interpreters, "in the very bounds of the Land,—to wit, the southern and eastern: that is a double Kadesh." Then he goes on to say, that "of Kadesh, or Rekam, in the south part, there is no doubt;" while in his opinion there was not a second Kadesh. His conclusion is: "That that Kadesh, to which they [the Israelites] came in the fortieth year (which is called Meribah, Numbers 20: 13), is the same with Kadesh-barnea is clear enough from hence,—that Meribah in Kadesh is assigned for the southern border of the Land (Ezekiel 47: 19); which border of old was Kadesh-barnea (Numbers 34: 4; Joshua 15: 3)."

If, indeed, it could be found that the term Reqam has a signification applicable alike to Kadesh-barnea and to Petra, it would at once make clear the cause of all this confusion in the references to these two places by Jewish and Christian writers for now twenty

[1] See *Mischna*, with Maimonides' notes (Amsterdam edition), p. 415.

[2] *Horæ Heb. et Tal.*, Vol. I., pp. 19–21.

centuries, more or less. Is such a solution of the problem practicable? We have seen[1] that Sel'a was first applied to Kadesh-barnea, and afterwards to Petra; and that confusion was possible from the use of that term interchangeably as the designation of the two places. Is there anything like this in the two-fold use of the term Reqam?

It is somewhat strange that no student of this subject has noted the fact that *rikhâm*,[2] or *rukhâm*, a close equivalent of "Reqam," is to-day an Arabic term for "rock," and therefore might be applicable, as is the Hebrew *Sel'a*, to both Kadesh-barnea and Petra. The primitive meaning of the Arabic word *rukhâm* is of that which is split or stratified, parted or piled in layers; and the word is often applied to marble,[3] or lime stone, or alabaster:[4] but it is also used in designation of rock of all kinds. For example, in a modern Arabic work on the geography of Egypt,[5] a reference is made to the "red rukhâm,"[6] or the syenite granite, of Aswân; and again the various rocks of an entire district are treated under the general head of "Rukhâm."[7]

The word "Ruqeem"[8]—almost identical with the Hebrew "Reqam"—occurs once in the Qurân.[9] Its meaning there has been another puzzle. As Sale[10] says of it: "What is meant by this word the commentators cannot agree." But among other proposed explanations, "some will have it to be the name of the mountain"

[1] See page 124 *f*, *supra*.

[2] رخام. See Lane, Freytag, and the Jesuits' French Arabic Lexicons, *s. v.*

[3] Abulfeda's *Tab. Ægypt.*, p. 14. *Surv. of West. Pal.*, "Name Lists," p. 405. "Rukhâm, white marble." Also, Freytag's *Lex. Arab. Lat.*, s. v. "rukhâm."

[4] Catafago's *Arabic Dic.*, s. v. "rukhâm."

[5] Fikry's *Geog. of Egypt*, Cairo, A. H. 1296. [6] *Ibid.*, Part II., page 74.

[7] *Ibid.*, [8] الرقيم

[9] Sura 18. v. 8. In the Arabic Version of Walton's Polyglot Bible, at Gen. 14: 7 the word "Ruqeem," given for "Kadesh" is identical with that, as above, from the Qurân.

[10] In *Koran with Notes*, p. 238, note.

in which was a cave, referred to in the context; while others apply it to a legend of three men shut in a cave by "the falling down of a vast stone which stopped the cave's mouth," who "were miraculously delivered by the rock's rending in sunder to give them passage." Either explanation consists with the idea of "Ruqeem" meaning a rock-mountain with its cave sides, like Petra; or again meaning a smitten Rock, like that of Kadesh-barnea.*

It is evident from this showing of the case, that the Arabic term Rikhâm might not unnaturally be applied interchangeably to the Rock of Kadesh, and to Petra—the Rock City. And now, apart from the fact of the admitted resemblance of the Arabic and the ancient Hebrew, it is worth our while to consider the traces of words, similar in form and meaning to the one in question, in the cognate Syriac and Hebrew.[1]

Jerome distinctly states that Petra in Edom is called Rekem by the *Syrians;*[2] although Eusebius says that it is the *Assyrians* who so name it.[3] In the Peshitto Syriac Version,[4] at Numbers 34: 4, "Kadesh-barnea" is supplied by *Reqam degaia,*[5] and in the accompanying Latin Version this is rendered *Recem Superbam*—Reqam the Lofty, or perhaps here, the Pre-eminent. A literal rendering of the Syriac would make it simply Reqam of the Plain. We have already seen that the word Reqam, here ascribed to the Syriac, is in use in the talmudic Hebrew; and this brings us to the question of the meaning of the word in these languages.

In both the Hebrew and the Syriac[6] the word *ragam*[7] means stoning, or to stone. For example, this is the word used of the proposed stoning of Moses and Aaron by the rebellious Israelites at Kadesh-barnea,[8] when the people were dismayed at the report

[1] In the tracking of these philological proofs, I am particularly indebted to the scholarly assistance of Mr. John T. Napier, whose services at many other points in my work I have elsewhere acknowledged.

[2] *De Loc. Heb.*, s. v. "Petra." [3] *Onomast.*, s. v. "Petra." [4] Walton's *Polyglotta.*

[5] ܪܩܡ ܕܓܐܝܐ [6] See Castellus's *Syriac Lexicon.* [7] רָגַם. [8] Num. 14: 10.

of the spies; and again of the stoning of the sabbath-breaker,[1] in the days following. Fürst suggests that the root of this word was a noun *regem*,[2] "a stone-heap;" and he directly suggests its connection with "Reqem"[3]—the name of a town in the tribe of Benjamin;[4] where he thinks it may have referred to existing stone heaps as it similarly might apply to stone structures at Petra.[5]

Another accomplished Oriental scholar[6] says of the root meaning of *reqam*: "Comparing the Arabic (رقم); the Syriac (ܪܩܡ); and the Hebrew (רקם); I should take the radical meaning to be 'strike,' 'thrust,' whence 'dot,' 'excavate.' So in Arabic the verb means 'to write' ('cut letters, or print'), and 'to embroider.' The latter is also the sense in Syriac and Hebrew—'to embroider,' from 'striking,' or 'piercing'; whence the meaning of the Hebrew (רקם) seems to be 'pierced,' that is perhaps, 'excavated,' an appropriate name for Petra, and for the city mentioned by Abu'l Feda." It will be seen, farther on, that the root meanings here proposed have like appropriateness with the one suggested by Fürst in application both to Petra and to the "struck" or "pierced" Rock of Kadesh—the "Fountain of Miriam."

Thus it certainly may be, that the Arabic *rikhâm*, *rukhâm*, and *ruqeem*; the Syriac *reqam* and *ragam*; the Chaldee *reqam*; and the Hebrew *ragam*, *reqam*, and *reqem*, are vestiges in variety of a common Semitic root,[7] having reference to "stone" or "rock."

[1] Num. 15: 35, 36.

[2] רֶגֶם. Fürst's *Heb. u. Chald. Wörterb.*, s. v., "ragam." [3] רֶקֶם.

[4] Josh. 18: 27. Grove, in *Smith-Hackett Bib. Dic.*, s. v., "Rekem," suggests a trace of this name in the present "Ain Karim," west of Jerusalem; the reputed home of Zacharias and Elizabeth. This suggestion is adopted by Fausset (*Bib. Cyc.*, s. v.), and Young (*Analytical Concordance*).

[5] Yet Fürst does not seem to have thought of the connection of Reqem with Petra and Kadesh, as bearing on this suggestion of his.

[6] Professor C. H. Toy (of The Harvard University Divinity School), in a private letter to the author.

[7] For the close relationship of the various Semitic languages, see Fischer's

That variations similar to these—through changes of the gutturals and palatals, and of the vowels—are frequent in the languages referred to, is a fact familiar to every scholar.[1]

If this conclusion be accepted, the mystery of "Reqem," as applied alike to the Rock at Kadesh, and the Rock-City Petra, is solved; and the confusion growing out of the interchange of names is accounted for. And the designation of Kadesh as Reqam de-Geeah,[2] or Reqam of the Plain,[3] is a natural one, as over against Reqam of the Mountains—in Edom, or Moab.

That, indeed, the term "Reqam" has reference to a place of rock, or of rocks, whenever we know the place referred to, is clear; and the inference is legitimate that it always means this. As applied to "Petra," this is obvious; and this covers the various mentions of it in Josephus, Eusebius, and Jerome.

Ibn Hauqal,[4] an Arabian traveler and geographer, writing in the tenth century, tells of "Reqem,"[5] a town situated near the Belqâ, where "all the walls and houses are of stone, in such a manner that one would imagine they were all of one piece." Three centuries later, Abulfeda (Aboo'l Feda), a hereditary Emeer of Syria, who wrote works on geography, both as an eye witness and as a student, made mention[6] of this same place, "Er-Ruqeem, a small town situated near El-Belqâ;[7] the houses of which are all

"Anleitung zum Studium des Midrasch und Talmud," pp. 13–34, in Winer's *Chaldäische Grammatik.*

[1] Concerning the interchanging, in Hebrew, and in the other Semitic dialects, of ק, ق,(q); ג, ج,(g); ח خ, (kh); see the articles on these letters, in Eli Smith's "Essay on the Pronunciation of the Arabic," in Appendix to Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, III. (first edition); also Robinson's *Gesenius*, and Adolf Wahrmund's *Handbuch der neu-Arabischen Sprache*, I., p. 11, § 36.

[2] See page 167 *f*, *supra.*

[3] Compare the Hebrew גֵּיא, *gayĕ*, גַּיא, *gai'*; the Arabic جوا, *jewa*, جية, *jeeah*: which all have the meaning of "a plain," or of "a low-lying place."

[4] Ouseley's *Oriental Geog. of Ebn Haukal*, p. 40.

[5] رقم

[6] *Tabula Syriæ*, p. 11.

[7] "El-Belqâ is one of the districts of Esh-Sharât, [and is] a fertile land having

cut out of the live rock, as though they were one rock."[1] The Arabic word "Ruqeem"[2] as given here is identical with that found in the Qurân and in the Arabic Version, as already quoted. Elsewhere, Abulfeda[3] refers to this Er-Ruqeem as north of Kerak, and not far from it. Although no attempts to identify this place seem to have been made in modern times, it would appear worthy of notice that Seetzen[4] found a "Bêt el Kerm," in the region referred to by Abulfeda; between Kerek and the Belqâ. Burckhardt[5] visited this place, which he speaks of as "the ruins of an ancient city called 'Beit-Kerm,'[6] belonging to which, on the side of the road, are the remains of a temple of remote antiquity." Again it was visited by Irby and Mangles,[7] who think that the temple was Roman, resembling that which they "took to have been a palace at Petra." More recently it was seen by De Saulcy,[8] who speaks of the temple as "magnificent," a "marvelous structure." Tristram[9] also saw the ruins in passing. Not only is there a suggestion of the name "Ruqeem" in the name "Kerm"—the consonants in the two words being identical, and the change in their order not an unusual one;[10] but the very name "Rakim" is

Heshbon as its metropolis. This [Heshbon] is a little town situated in the valley, planted with trees and grain, and having gardens and tilled fields. That valley, indeed, stretches even to the Ghôr, or plain of Zoghar. El-Belqâ is distant from Jericho one day's journey to the east." (Abulfeda, as above.)

[1] For other Arabic references to this place, see Gildemeister's "Palästinakunde aus Arabischen Quellen," in *Zeitschrift des Deutsch.Pal. Ver.*, Band VI., p. 9.

[2] الرقيم, *er-Ruqeem.*

[3] *Annales Moslem.*, quoted at third hand in Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, II., 522.

[4] *Reisen*, I., 411.

[5] *Travels in Syria*, p. 376.

[6] بيت قرم

[7] *Travels*, p. 458.

[8] *The Dead Sea*, I., 293–296.

[9] *Land of Moab*, p. 125 *f.*

[10] Concerning the common transposition of consonants, in Semitic languages, see Rödiger-Davidson's *Gesenius's Heb. Gram.*, Chap. II., § 19 (5).

As already stated Grove and others think that the name "Karim" ('Ayn Karim), west of Jerusalem, may be a vestige of "Reqem," by such a transposition of the consonants. According to the "Name Lists" of the *Survey of Western Palestine* (page 280), this Kârim (كارم) differs in one consonant from the "Qerm" (قرم), as re-

reported by Canon Tristram as still existing in that region; between Kerak and the Belqâ.

It has been thought by many that there was a Petra in Moab, as well as a Petra in Edom. Leake, the editor of Burckhardt's Travels,[1] has given reasons for believing that the Petra of Moab —which he would identify in Kerek—was referred to by Diodorus Siculus, in his story of the defence of Petra against Demetrius. Von Raumer[2] has argued strongly in the same direction. Reland[3] and Robinson,[4] while not accepting this conclusion, admit that there are references by Eusebius, Jerome, and Athanasius, which, taken without explanation, would seem to show two Petras; one in "Palestine," and one in "Arabia." Cellarius[5] is positive that there were two. Now if there was a Petra in Moab, it is more than probable that that was the Petra which Josephus[6] tells of as called Arekeme, after the name of its founder; for the king Rekem, to whom Josephus refers, fell on or near the plains of Moab,[7] and does not seem to have had any connection with Edom. If Arekeme was a compound of Ar and Rekem, as certainly is

ported by Burckhardt (*Travels in Syria*, page 376), in the land of Moab; the latter being identical with the Hebrew "Reqem"; but this difference *may* be only a seeming one. (See Preface to "Name Lists.") It is noteworthy, however, that Thomson (*Central Palestine and Phœnicia*,—Land and Book,—p. 58) translates the "Kârim" of Judea as "vineyards," while Tristram (*Land of Moab*, p. 133) gives the same meaning—"vineyards"—to the "Kurm" near Kerak. And again, Palmer (*Des. of Exod.*, II., pp. 352, 367, 373) has shown that the ancient vineyards of those regions were often composed of "small stone-heaps, formed by sweeping together in regular swathes, the flints which strew the ground"; and that "along these the grapes were trained, and they still retain the name of *teleilât el-'anab*, or 'grape mounds.'" Moreover, he finds these mounds called also "*rujûm el-kurum*, or vineyard heaps." (*Ibid.*, II., 411.) According to this, whether the anagram be *rukim* or *kurim*, it might fairly mean "stone-heaps." But this is merely incidental. If nothing more, it is certainly curious as a coincidence.

1 Preface, viii.-xi.

2 *Palästina*, pp. 451–465; also, p. 276.

3 *Palæstina*, pp. 926–934.

4 *Bib. Res.*, II., 522 *ff.*

5 *Geog. Antiq.*, Lib. III., Cap. 14., § 29, p. 580.

6 *Antiq.*, Bk. IV., chap. 7, § 1.

7 Num. 31: 1–12.

possible, the prefix may have stood for the word meaning "a city;"[1] or for the name of a chief city of Moab, sometimes used for Moab itself;[2] or again for a simple article.[3] In the first case the compound word would mean Rock-City; in the second case Moab-Rock; in the third case merely The Rock.

If again there was a Petra in Moab, it may well be supposed that the Er-Ruqeem of Abulfeda was that Petra;[4] and that traces of its name are still found in "Beit Kerm" and "Rakim," near Kerek. But, however this may be, it is clear that wherever we can fix the name Ruqeem, we find that it refers to a place of stones or of rock; and this we may fairly take to be its meaning in all cases.

But just here it may be objected that the Rock of Kadesh was a cliff, rather than a small and detached rock; and that while the term *reqam* would possibly apply to the smitten rock (*tsoor*) of Horeb, it would be inappropriate to the more imposing Rock (*Sel'a*) of Kadesh.[5] In answer to this it is sufficient to say that the rabbins did not always distinguish between the two rocks of Horeb and Kadesh; or rather, that they held that the rock smitten at Horeb was miraculously carried forward to Kadesh, and thence along all the route of the Israelites, and at last found its place in the Sea of Galilee, where its marvelous power continued to manifest itself.[6]

The Jewish tradition was that this rock was a "block of stone, round like a beehive," and pierced with twelve holes, from which flowed the streams for the twelve tribes.[7] Accompanying the

[1] עִיר, *eer*.

[2] Num. 21: 15, 28; Deut. 2: 9, 18, 29.

[3] אַל *al;* actually a weak demonstrative pronoun, which passed into an article.

[4] Schultens (as quoted in Köhler's Notes to Abulfeda's *Tabula Syriæ*, p. 11), and Von Raumer (*Palästina*, p. 276), would find Petra in this Er-Ruqeem.

[5] See page 124 *f.*, *supra*.

[6] See Baring-Gould's *Legends of Patriarchs and Prophets*, p. 294 *f.*; Buxtorf's *Syn. Jud.*, Chap. XI.; Lightfoot's *Horæ Heb.*, Vol. III., p. 295; also Franz Delitzsch's Notes on "The Rock that Followed Them," in "The Independent" for Dec. 7, 1882.

[7] According to the monkish traditions, this Rock was miraculously carried back

Israelites in their marches, this rock furnished their water supply in all the desert wastes. When the cloud rested, and the tabernacle was formally put up, the rock was accustomed to take its place in the tabernacle court. Then the princes of the people would come and direct with their staves the courses of the streams for the several tribes; and the water would flow so as to give drink to all, "to each man in the door of his tent."

This rock was called the Fountain of Miriam, and the rabbins held that it was because of Miriam's death at Kadesh-barnea that once more "there was no water for the congregation,"[1] and that the Lord directed Moses to speak to the rock that it might again give forth its water as in the days of Miriam's life. As finally sunken in the Sea of Galilee, this rock, according to tradition, "can still be seen from certain points of view, as before Jeshimon, or as one is ascending to the peak of Carmel, or from the middle door of the old synagogue of Serugnin." And thence the Fountain of Miriam discharges itself at "the end of the Sabbath" and "mingles itself with all fountains." And wherever those waters flow they carry healing; for "if it should happen that at that moment of time any Jewess should draw some of that water, it would certainly be most efficient to the working of all cure;" for "whoever drinks from such a fountain as that is healed, even though his whole body were covered with the most loathsome disease."[2] It would even seem as if the multitude of sick, blind, halt, withered who waited for the troubling of the waters at Beth-

to Rephidim when it had accomplished its purpose for the Israelites; and a rock which is claimed to be this one is shown near Mount Sinai to-day, having traces of twelve fissures from which the water flowed. It is frequently pictured in the reports of travelers, as, for example, in Moncony's *Reisen* (A. D. 1696); in Shaw's *Travels* (A. D. 1738); in Pococke's *Description of the East* (A. D. 1743); in Laborde's *Voyage* (A. D. 1830); in Newnham's *Illustrations of the Exodus* (A. D. 1830); and in many other works. Moreover it is often referred to by Christian travelers as a veritable sacred relic.

[1] Num. 20: 1, 2.

[2] Buxtorf's *Syn. Jud.*, as above.

esda[1] were watching for the inflow from the Fountain of Miriam. It is thought that Paul had this well-known rabbinical tradition in mind, when he said of the Israelites in their journeyings: "They drank of a spiritual Rock which followed them: and the Rock was Christ."[2] The tradition according to the rabbins was, that a natural rock followed them to supply their bodily thirst. The truth according to Paul was, that a spiritual Rock followed them, to supply their soul thirst.

In view of the rabbinical legends attached to the Rock which supplied the Israelites at Kadesh, it would certainly not be strange to find that Rock—and by metonomy the Place of that Rock—referred to in the rabbinical writings by a term which, in its use elsewhere, seems to mean "smitten rock," "layer rock," "pierced rock," "stone heaps," and "stone dwellings." Nor again would it be strange if that term thus applied should cause more or less confusion in its possible application to other places of rock, or of rock-dwellings.

4. IN THE EARLY CHRISTIAN NAME LISTS.

In turning from the Jewish to the early Christian writings, for help in the locating of Kadesh-barnea, we are practically limited to Eusebius and Jerome. The first named of these writers prepared, early in the fourth century, his "Onomasticon," a Name List of Sacred Places. This being issued in Greek, it was translated into Latin, by Jerome, under the title of "De Locis Hebraicis," who also made some additions to it, before the close of the same century.

While examining this source of information, it is important to bear in mind the real value and the evident limitations of both

[1] John 5: 2-7. It will be borne in mind that the Revised Text leaves out the reference to an *angel's* troubling of the water.

[2] 1 Cor. 10: 4.

these writers in the fields covered by them. Concerning places of which they had personal knowledge, the facts they give are of great value; and the same may be said of other places concerning which the identification was not in doubt in their day. But beyond the range of their personal knowledge, they had few helps to an understanding of geography; and their work shows their liability to be misled or confused by a similarity of names in different sites, and by vague impressions or hasty conclusions. As Von Raumer[1] says of their combined geographical writing: "Their work is of double worth, since both authors lived in Palestine; but of course they are of slighter authority when they speak of ancient places which neither of the two saw." And as Conder[2] adds: "It seems plain that they were far more hasty than modern scholars would be in fixing upon a site of similar name without reference to other requisites;" hence "the instances of incorrect identification are very numerous."

In the day of Eusebius and Jerome, Kadesh-barnea had long passed out of prominence as a place of habitation, although its name was so closely linked with the history of Palestine; and its site—as indicated in our researches thus far—would hardly have been in the line of travel to or from the Holy Land. Petra, on the contrary—the Petra of Edom—was still a centre of political and commercial importance; and its site must have been well known. We have no reason, however, for supposing that either Eusebius or Jerome had been at either Kadesh-barnea or Petra. Indeed Robinson[3] says, that in view of their citing Josephus as authority for the interchanged names of "Petra," "Recem," and "Arcem:" "it would seem that they in no case speak from their own knowledge," of these places. It is, therefore, quite reason-

[1] *Palästina*, p. 4.

[2] "Early Christian Topography," in *Surv. of West. Pal.*, "Special Papers," p. 249 f.

[3] *Bib. Res.*, II., 521.

able to suppose, that both Eusebius and Jerome had vague ideas of the precise location of Kadesh-barnea; and that the similarity of its rabbinical name "Reqam" with the alternative names of Petra, would confuse their ideas of the relations of these two places; and of other sites linked with them, as already shown in the case of Mount Hor.

As a matter of fact, both Eusebius and Jerome seem to have taken Kadesh and Kadesh-barnea to be alternative names of the Wilderness of Kadesh; and that wilderness to be an extensive stretch of desert south of Palestine; all the way along from the Wilderness of Shur on the borders of Egypt, to the easternmost limit of the Wilderness of Paran—where lay Petra or Reqam, "the east of the world."[1] Indeed, in one place, they specifically declare this to be their view of the case; and, again, several of their mentions of Kadesh are conformed to it. Speaking of Gerar,[2] they say: "Scripture mentions that it was between Kadesh and Shur; that is, between two wildernesses, of which one is joined to Egypt—into which [Shur] the people came after crossing the Red Sea; but the other, Kadesh, extends even to the desert of the Saracens"—of Arabia Felix.[3] Eusebius describes Kadesh-barnea as "the desert stretching to Petra, a city of Palestine;"[4] while Jerome adds that Kadesh-barnea is "*in* the desert which is joined to [or which actually stretches on until it touches] the city of Petra."[5] Again, in a mention of "Arad,"[6] Eusebius says it is "situated near the desert called Kadesh;" and Jerome[7] says, "near the desert of Kadesh." Moreover, both Eusebius and Jerome locate the Well of Judgment[8] [En-mishpat] in Gerar, in the western part of the desert.

[1] See page 168 *f., supra.*
[2] *Onomasticon.*, s. v.
[3] The desert east of the 'Arabah. See Forster's *Geog. of Arabia*, II., 7–32.
[4] *Onomasticon*, s. v., "Kaddes."
[5] *De Loc. Heb.*, s. v., "Cades."
[6] *Onomasticon*, s. v., "Arama."
[7] *De Loc. Heb.*, s. v., "Arad."
[8] *Ibid.*, s. v., "*Puteus judicii.*" *Onomasticon*, s. v., Φρέαρ κρίσεως.

In another work,[1] Jerome speaks of the monk Hilarion as "going to the desert Kadesh" by way of Elusa—a route which would be taken to day by a traveler from Palestine toward the Azâzimeh mountain tract, or toward the desert south of those mountains. In no case, however, is Kadesh identified with Petra, either by statement or by implication, in the writings of Eusebius and Jerome; any more than in the writings of Josephus and the rabbins.

From all these facts it would seem, that while there are no conclusive indications of the precise location of Kadesh-barnea in the Egyptian records, in the Apocrypha, in the rabbinical writings, or in the early Christian name-lists, there is nothing in those extra-biblical sources of information which conflicts with the indications already found in the Bible text; while there is more or less in confirmation of those indications.

[1] *Vita Hilarionis.*

IV.

KADESH-BARNEA.

LATER ATTEMPTS AT ITS IDENTIFYING.

KADESH-BARNEA.

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1. WHY IT DROPPED FROM NOTICE.

Notwithstanding the importance and early prominence of Kadesh-barnea as a boundary line landmark, and as a point of strategic value on the border of the Holy Land, it seems to have dropped out from the records of travel and of study during a period of six to eight centuries after the days of Eusebius and Jerome; and the reasons for this fact it is not difficult to surmise.

Because Kadesh-barnea was a secluded stronghold, off from the main routes of travel while yet it was near to them, it would naturally be passed by without notice, when there was no special occasion for turning aside to it. It was not a station on any of the great Roman roads across the desert, or into and through Palestine, to find a place on all the prominent route-maps, such as the Antonine Itinerary and the Peutinger Tables. It was not in the ordinary routes of pilgrimage to or from Jerusalem or Mount Sinai, to have mention in the devout itineraries, from Bishop Arculf's to that of Sir John Maundeville.[1]

Nor was it in the line of the customary approaches to Palestine from the West, during the varying conflicts for the possession of that land, as recorded in the crusading chronicles of the middle ages. No Christian army followed in the track of Kedor-la'omer

[1] See *Reissbuch des Heiligen Lands*; also, Wright's *Early Travels in Palestine*.

or of Moses, in an attempted entry into the Holy Land from the southward; and, therefore, none needed to seek a stopping-place at the border stronghold which those chieftains recognized as an objective point in such a movement.

Meantime, there were no geographical studies of that region, in either Jewish or Christian circles, which gave fresh light to any out-of-the-way location, however important it might be in its relations to the Bible narrative. Hence it is not to be wondered at, that Kadesh-barnea seemed forgotten.

2. A GLEAM DURING THE CRUSADES.

In a single instance there is a mention of Kadesh-barnea, in the crusading chronicles of William of Tyre;[1] and naturally this mention is in connection with a movement Egyptward.

It was between the second and third crusades,[2] under the reign of Amalric I. (or Amaury I.), the brother and successor of Baldwin III., as king of Jerusalem, A. D. 1167. A state of things which at that time, was, in a sense, advantageous to the Christians, grew out of the discords and conflicts among the Muhammadans of Egypt, Syria, and Asiatic Turkey. The rival khaleefehs of Cairo and Baghdád were in bitter hostility to each other; and both the sultan of Damascus and the king of Jerusalem endeavored from time to time to avail themselves of this hostility for personal ends.[3]

After the Christian and the Syrian armies had successively invaded Egypt and then withdrawn from it, the sultan of Damas-

[1] See his "Historia," in *Gesta Dei per Francos*, at p. 962 *f.*

[2] As in all such matters, there is a difference in the dividing line recognized by different authorities. Mill (*Hist. of Crusades*, chap. X.), counts this period between the second and third crusades; so does Cox (*Encyc. Brit.*, ninth ed., Art. "Crusades"); but Michaud (*Hist. of Crusades*, Bk. VII.), includes it in the third crusade.

[3] Various authorities (as above) go to show these facts.

cus made a league with the khaleefeh of Baghdád for the subjugation of Egypt; in order that the sultan might govern it politically, and that the eastern khaleefeh might secure undisputed religious sway in the Muhammadan world. To this end a vast army was raised, and began its move Egyptward. Then it was that Egypt invoked the aid of the Christians, promising to pay a heavy tribute in return for the protection asked for.

The king of Jerusalem agreed to render the desired assistance. At his summons, there was an assembly at Nâblus of all the dignitaries of church and state in the kingdom of Jerusalem; and arrangements were speeded for the raising of men and money without stint, for the new campaign. Meantime the report came to king Amalric that the Syrian leader with his allied army "had taken his way through the desert by which the people of Israel came to the Land of Promise;"[1] that, in fact, he had crossed the Desert et-Tech from its eastern to its western borders, entering it, doubtless, by the way which Kedor-la'omer had taken into the Wilderness of Paran. Then king Amalric, gathering all the soldiers at his disposal, hastened down to intercept him, going "even to Kadesh-barnea which is in the desert;" but "not finding him he quickly returned," says the chronicler.[2]

From further reports of the movements of Amalric, in connection with this invasion of Egypt from the East,[3] it is evident that his own course was Egyptward, and that he went by way of Gaza, from the centre of his kingdom. This mention of Kadesh-barnea would seem, therefore, to show that during the crusading period, as in the days of Jerome and Eusebius, that region was counted the desert, or a portion of the desert, that stretched along the southern boundary of the Holy Land from near its western limits.

Another remarkable illustration of the typical character of

[1] *Gesta Dei*, p. 963. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] See Mill's *Hist. of Crusades*, chap. X., p. 131 *f.*; Michaud's *Hist. of Crusades*, Vol. III., p. 388 *f.*

Egypt, with its temptations and its bondage, in contrast with Palestine, with its conflicts and its possibilities of rest by faith, is furnished in the story of this Egyptward movement of the new king of Jerusalem. When Amalric had seen the abounding material treasures of Egypt, he coveted them as more attractive than his straitened and desolate domain in Palestine, and he determined to possess that land. And his purpose and endeavors in this direction became the beginning of the end of Christian supremacy in Palestine. It was in connection with this diversion of the strength of the crusaders' power, that ground was lost on their northern borders, and that Saladin (Salah-ed-Deen), the new leader of the Saracens, was brought into preëminence before his own people, and became a power for the crushing out, for the time at least, of the Christian sway in the Holy Land.[1] It would have been better for Amalric to have sojourned, like Abraham, between Kadesh and Shur, rather than to have passed hurriedly through Arabia, in the hope of finding a more attractive home in the Land of Bondage than was available to him in the ancient Land of Promise.

3. NATURAL MISTAKES OF MEDIÆVAL WRITERS.

In the lack of any fresh discoveries concerning the site of Kadesh-barnea, it is not to be wondered at that the ambiguous and uncertain references to it in the name-lists of the early Christian writers, together with the duplicating of its synonym Reqam in the early rabbinical writings, continued for centuries to cause confusion in both Christian and Jewish attempts at its locating. Nor can it be doubted that every attempt to reconcile these conflicting indications with the clearer disclosures of the Bible text, would inevitably increase the confusion.

Those who followed the Onomasticon, would be inclined to look

[1] See Michaud's *Hist. of Crusades*; Vol. III., pp. 392–406.

for Kadesh-barnea as a wilderness-region south of Palestine, stretching across the desert even to Petra on the east of the 'Arabah. Those who turned to the Bible for guidance would be sure that Kadesh-barnea lay far to the westward of the 'Arabah, and on the southern border of the Holy Land proper. Those who would reconcile the Bible and the Onomasticon, or who had been misled by the talmudic references to the two Reqams, must seek for two Kadeshes, or one Kadesh and one Kadesh-barnea; the one at the east of the southern desert; the other westward. And just this variety of opinions is to be found in the writings of commentators, geographers, and travelers, for a series of centuries.

The first explicit mention of a Kadesh as distinct from Kadesh-barnea, so far as I know, is by "Rashi,"[1] in the latter part of the eleventh century. He simply states that there were two towns; the one called Kadesh, and the other Kadesh-barnea.[2] He gives no reason for this opinion; nor does he seem to have any special familiarity with the geography of the Holy Land from personal knowledge. He was apparently misled by the double Reqam in the Talmud—the Rock-Kadesh and the Rock-Petra; and again *his* error at this point would be sure to mislead Jewish writers after him, as Eusebius and Jerome were the means of misleading Christian scholars.

It is said that Maimonides, who closely followed Rashi in time, "constructed a map of the frontiers of Palestine."[3] Such a map I do not find reproduced or referred to in any edition of his works which I have examined; but there is a rabbinical map, or rude plot, of the Holy Land boundaries, to be found in many old works,[4] and possibly this dates from his time. It simply notes the place of Kadesh-barnea, as west of the lower end of the Salt

[1] See page 151, *supra*. [2] Rashi, *'al ha-Torah*, at Num. 32: 8.

[3] See Zunz on "Geographical Literature of the Jews," in Asher's *Benjamin of Tudela*, p. 254.

[4] See, *e. g.* Van Hamelsveld's *Bib. Geog.* Vol. I., p. 138.

Sea; but in such a way as to throw no light on its precise location.

The earliest mention of Kadesh-barnea which I find in any Christian writer after Jerome, is in the Latin work of the Dominican Brocardus, entitled "Locorum Terræ Sanctæ Descriptio," which was probably written near the close of the thirteenth century.[1]

Brocardus had been in the Holy Land; but apparently not in the desert. His references to Kadesh-barnea are vague and inexact; and are evidently controlled by the idea of Eusebius and Jerome, that it was a wilderness-region stretching westward along the desert border of Palestine, from the vicinity of Petra; or from Kerek, at the east of the Dead Sea, which was then supposed to be the site of ancient Petra. His statements throw no new light on the subject; they rather go to show the general lack of knowledge on this point in his day.

Perhaps the earliest map of the Holy Land with any attempt at accurate locations, was that of Marino Sanuto, an Italian geographer[2] and a historian of the crusades,[3] who had visited Palestine. His map was drawn early in the fourteenth century; and it was long made the basis of the maps of that region. As it extended only to the southern tongue of the Dead Sea, it did not include the region of Kadesh-barnea; but a note which appears at the lower margin of the map, as reproduced in an edition of "Gesta Dei per Francos," under date of 1611, refers to the "land of Amalek" as southward of the lower line of the map, and as "ex-

[1] "All editors refer this tract to the thirteenth century; some to the early part, and some to the close; but the weight of authority seems to lean towards the latter part, or about A. D. 1280" (Robinson's *Bib. Res.* II., 539).

[2] He also prepared "a map of the world representing the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts as far as Flanders, probably drawn between 1312 and 1321" (*Encyc. Brit.*, Ninth ed., Art. "Map").

[3] His "Secreta Fidelium" is in *Gesta Dei.*

tending to the tongue of the Dead Sea and Kadesh-barnea." This note, which is in substance taken from Sanuto's "Secreta Fidelium," would seem to indicate that he counted Kadesh-barnea as a westward landmark, over against the Dead Sea as an eastern one.

4. BEGINNINGS OF FULLER RESEARCH.

There was no lack of pilgrimages to the Holy Land during all the Middle Ages; nor was Mount Sinai then overlooked as a place of Christian pilgrimage. But the pilgrims generally were intent rather on showing their veneration for sites which were traditionally identified, than on discovering anew any sacred place which had long been lost sight of. It was not until near the close of the fifteenth century that a spirit of fresh investigation seemed to be awakened in travelers there as elsewhere; then, however, the invention of printing promoted the quickening of that spirit to a degree quite unexampled before.

First among Christian travelers to suggest that they had visited the site of Kadesh-barnea, were Breydenbach and Fabri; and their suggestion has chief value in the fact that it was a suggestion in this direction, however little it had to rest on.

It was in 1483–84 that Dean Breydenbach of Mayence, and Friar Fabri of Ulm, two Roman ecclesiastics, journeyed together from Jerusalem to Mount Sinai by way of Gaza and Beersheba. Among their companions were the Count of Solms and Freiherr Hans Werli von Zimber. Breydenbach and Fabri wrote each his own report of the journey;[1] and each wrote the story over again for the benefit of a titled companion.[2] These four reports show many discrepancies in the order and distances of places visited;[3]

[1] Breydenbach's *Itin. Hierosolym.*; Fabri's *Evagatorium*.

[2] Faber's *Beschreibung*, for Hans Werli; Breydenbach's *Beschreibung*, for the Count of Solms.

[3] For example, Breydenbach says, that on leaving Gaza they stopped just outside

such discrepancies, however, as are not to be wondered at in itineraries of that period, and of that region. Of the two ecclesiastics, Fabri is commonly the more accurate ; yet Breydenbach has had the larger popularity, perhaps from his freer plagiarism from Brocardus's work already mentioned. Both writers have more prominence through their place at the dawning of a better day on the field of their research, than any work performed by them would merit on its own account.

At some distance below Gaza these travelers came to a place which they thought might be identified with Kadesh-barnea. Fabri says of it:[1] "We came into a land undulating and unequal with hills, but barren. The place also is called in Arabic, Chawatha.[2] And in it we found many signs and marks that there were once human habitations; for, above us, we found twelve great walled ancient cisterns, round about which were lying many broken pieces of pottery, and ashes . . .. According to the position of that place, I think that it is the region of Kadesh barnea." Breydenbach goes a little farther, in his inclination to identify this

the city for the first night; and the second night they stopped at Lebhem, "one mile from Gaza." Fabri says, that the day following their night at Gazmaha, just outside of Gaza, they journeyed "eight hours" in the direction of Beersheba, and then stopped at Lebhem. He mentions that on this route, at one German mile (nearly five English miles) from Gazmaha, their Arab shaykh left them, on his return to Jerusalem. The place of *this* incident may have misled Breydenbach in the writing up of his notes. Fabri in another place says that they reached Beersheba some hours before reaching Lebhem. Such discrepancies as these would seem to indicate that while these travelers refer to veritable places visited by them, they are confused as to the distances and order of places, one from another, as might easily be the case in writing up a record from note-jottings. (Comp. *Evagatorium*, II., 409, 410,[a] and *Reissbuch*, p. 292).

Robinson (*Bib. Res.*, II., 541) says: "On comparing the two accounts, I find that of Fabri to be more full and accurate; and wherever there is a discrepancy (as at Hebron) the latter is to be preferred."

[1] *Evagatorium.* II. 411 *f.*

[2] It is more probable that the Arabic name was *Hawwâdeh* (حواضة) an irregular plural of *hawd* (حوض), meaning "Cisterns"—or Place of Cisterns.

as the site of Kadesh-barnea. He says of it:[1] "We came into a place which in the Arabic tongue is called, Cawatha; but in the Latin, Cades."

Just where this place was is not clear from the several narratives. From one record, it would seem to be near Gaza; from another, to be at two or three days distance southeasterly; and from yet another, to be below Beersheba.[2] It is thought by some that Tucher, a traveler from Bethlehem to Gaza, in 1479, had referred to this region under the name "Mackati;"[3] although this is by no means sure. On the strength of these notes, Zimmermann, in his large map of Syria and Palestine,[4] which accompanied Ritter's great work, laid down "Chawata," with several alternative names, at a point a little southeast of Gaza; and the new map of the Palestine Exploration Fund[5] gives "Khan el-Hawâdi"[6] at about the same point. The whole thing is, however, of little importance except as showing the fact, that in this earliest mention of the possible site of Kadesh-barnea in the record of modern travel, the idea of Eusebius and Jerome, that the region of Kadesh-barnea extended westward to near the Mediterranean border of Palestine, prevailed in the minds of the more intelligent Christian pilgrims, as it had before prevailed in the minds of the crusaders.

With the discovery of printing, there came also a new application of copper engraving, and wood-cutting, for the multiplication of illustrations in printed works; and this facilitated an increase of maps to accompany geographies and Bibles. In the second half of the sixteenth century a rude map illustrating the exodus and wanderings of the Israelites was reproduced, with variations, in popular editions of the Bible in Latin, French, and Eng-

[1] *Itinerarium*, (Spires edition; pages not numbered.)

[2] See note at page 191, *supra*.

[3] Tucher's "*Beschreibung*" (in *Reissbuch*, p. 678).

[4] *Karte von Syrien u. Palästina.*

[5] *Map of West. Pal.*, Sheet xix.

[6] "The word means hind legs," says "Name Lists" (*Surv. of West. Pal.*), p. 361. Possibly Hawwâdeh was mistaken for this word by the explorers. See note at p. 192.

lish.[1] In this map, Kadesh-barnea was represented as on the southern border of Canaan, at a point a little more than half way across from the Dead Sea to the Mediterranean; just where a study of the Bible references to it, unconfused by the guesses of Eusebius and Jerome, would prompt to its locating.[2]

But Bible-maps, like Bible-commentaries, were not all conformed to one pattern then, any more than they are now. In at least one Latin Bible, as early as 1583,[3] the maps, which were exceptionally well wrought, gave two sites for Kadesh; one, as "Cades-barne," southerly from Hebron; another as "Cades Enmishpat," farther eastward. Of course the Bible maps reflected the views of geographers for the time being.

With the rise of printing and engraving, there was a revival of interest in old-time maps and geographies, as well as a multiplication of new ones. Various editions of Ptolemy's Geography were re-issued, with accompanying maps.[4] No maps drawn by Ptolemy had been preserved.[5] The earliest known maps plotted from his data are supposed to have been made in the fifth century of our era. The new maps issued with the successive printed editions of his work, while conformed to his data, naturally had more or less additions to them in accordance with the later advances in geographical discovery. For example, in his geography he makes no mention of Kadesh-barnea; but in an edition of it printed at Rome, in 1508, one of the maps has a similar note to that on

[1] See, *e. g.*: Francis Stephens's French Bible, A. D., 1567; Rovillius's French Bible, A. D., 1569; Santander's Latin Bible, A. D., 1574; Selfisch and Bechtold's Latin Bible, A. D., 1591; Barker's English Bible, A. D., 1599.

[2] I am inclined to think that Münster was the author of this map; as will be seen farther on. A biblical and geographical conclusion of *his*, is worthy of respect.

[3] Christopher Plantin's Latin Bible, Antwerp.

[4] See Ruge's article "Map," in *Encyc. Brit.*, ninth edition.

[5] Ruge (as above) says: "No maps appear to have been drawn by Ptolemy himself." But Ptolemy (*Geog.*, Bk. I., chaps. 21-24,) speaks of his methods of preparing his maps, in a manner to justify the belief that he did prepare them.

Marino Sanuto's, concerning the stretch of the region of the Amalekites from the tongue of the Dead Sea to Kadesh-barnea, or "Cades-Bersabee" as it is here called. The maps in other editions of Ptolemy which I have examined[1] contain no mention of Kadesh-barnea.

The two centuries following the invention of printing were marked by a revival of geographical study. Some of the maps of that period are of a style and finish to bear comparison with good work of the present day. And the basis of much of our geographical knowledge was then laid by such masters in their line as Mercator and Münster and Ortelius, and others less known but not less worthy of praise. The Holy Land came in for its full share of study by the foremost geographers of the time; but, of course, they had no new data for the settlement of disputed sites, and they naturally gave large weight to the opinions of Bible students of their day and earlier, in such a matter. Their locations of Kadesh-barnea are, therefore, valuable only as showing the current opinions of their time concerning it.

Jacob Ziegler, a Bavarian scholar, published a work on the geography of Palestine, with accompanying maps, in 1532.[2] These maps show a close study of the Bible text, and they locate "Akrabbim" at the westward of the lower tongue of the Dead Sea, and "Chades Barneah" southwesterly of that tongue, midway toward the Mediterranean shore; just where the latest conclusions of scholars would find it. Gerard Mercator's first geographical work was a map of the Holy Land, published in 1537. This, by itself, I have not seen; but Mercator's later maps of Palestine, so far as I have seen,[3] do not note Kadesh-barnea.

[1] Including Strasburg, A. D. 1525; Bâsle, A. D. 1545; and later ones.

[2] Published, like many a book of that day, without a title. There is nothing in this line beyond: "*Jacobi Ziegleri, Argentorati, apud Petrum Opilionem, M.D.XXXII.*"

[3] Including his *Atlas Minor*, Amsterdam, A. D. 1614, and his larger *Atlas*, Amsterdam, A. D. 1633.

Münster's Cosmography of 1550[1] gives a map of Palestine and of the region below it, on which is laid down the line of Israel's exodus and wanderings much in the form which soon after appeared in popular editions of the Bible, as already noted,[2] and which indeed may have been the foundation of that. The name of Kadesh-barnea does not appear on this edition of the map, but this seems to be an accidental omission; for the turning-point of the Israelites from the southern border of Canaan is made, without a note, just at the place where Kadesh-barnea is noted in the Bible-maps, midway between the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean; and in a subsequent edition of his Cosmography,[3] Münster locates Kadesh-barnea, Kadesh, and Zin, together at that point, southerly from Hebron. This would seem to show his understanding of Kadesh-barnea as a "city" in the Wilderness of Kadesh, and both in the Wilderness of Zin, according to the Bible text.

Ortelius, of Antwerp, in 1570, took up again the two-fold idea of Kadesh; and, in the maps accompanying his "Theatrum Orbis Terrarum," he located Kadesh-barnea in its proper place, south of Hebron, as if in conformity to the Bible text; while, as if to conform to his understanding of Eusebius and Jerome, he noted "Zin or Kadesh" at the southeast of the Dead Sea, not far from the Petra of that day, which was Kerek.

And now came a new landmark in the realm of popular biblical geography, in a treatise that had much to do with perpetuating the error of more than one Kadesh. Christian Adrichomius, a Romish ecclesiastic of Holland, availing himself of the earlier geographical works, together with the records of study and travel in the field of the Holy Land,[4] brought much gathered material

[1] *Cosmog. Geog.*, Bâsle. [2] See page 193 *f.*, *supra*. [3] Bâsle, A. D. 1574.

[4] Adrichomius gives a long list of authorities consulted by him, including the ancient geographers, and later writers, such as William of Tyre, Brocardus, Mercator, Vitriacus, and Breydenbach.

into classified order, under the title of "Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ." His work resembled the Onomasticon in its systematic form, rather than the unsystematic treatise of Brocardus. Its first edition was published at Cologne, in 1590, five years after the author's death. At once it had popular favor; and at least five subsequent editions were published within a century.

While the accompanying maps of the Holy Land were more in detail and fuller than those published before his day, they were less accurate concerning the region of the Hebrew wanderings; for they actually gave no hint of two arms to the Red Sea, and of the peninsula formed by them. His method of solving difficulties concerning the location of Kadesh was eminently simple. It was merely by multiplying the sites. He gave Kadesh, Kadesh-barnea, the Desert of Kadesh, and Kadesh-palm[1] (a name which came from a misreading in the Apocrypha[2]), as four distinct places. The Desert of Kadesh, or of "Zin, which is Kadesh," he located at the south of the Dead Sea, sweeping down toward the Red Sea; and in that desert he located Kadesh, or Meribah-Kadesh; also Kadesh-palm. Kadesh-barnea, with Rithmah, he located at its proper place, on the south of Palestine, half-way across to the Mediterranean. With this variety to choose from, it was easy for any one to quote Adrichomius in justification of a favorite site of Kadesh; and Adrichomius became, and long remained, a popular authority in his field.

Almost simultaneously with the work of Adrichomius, there came a more modestly pretentious work by Bünting, of Magdeburg, under the title of "Itinerarium Sacræ Scripturæ." First printed in German, in 1591, it was translated, with some re-shap-

[1] Edition of 1600, p. 118, a, 21; b, 22, 23, 24.

[2] Ecclesiasticus 24: 14. "I shot upward like a palm tree on the sea-shores," or "in Engaddi (*ἐν αἰγιαλοῖς*; 248, Co., *ἐν Γαδδί, i. e., ἐν Ἐγγαδί*; *ἐν Ἐγγάδοις*, 296, 308; *ἐν Γάδοις*, 258; Old Lat., *in Cades*). All are clearly corrections for the first." (*Schaff-Bissell Com. on Apoc.*, in loco.)

ing, into English, as "The Travels of the Holy Patriarchs and Prophets," etc.; and it easily held a place for more than a century. This work actually assumed to give the precise latitude and longitude of every scriptural site, together with its distance in miles from Jerusalem; and at every before debatable point, including every station of the wanderings, it was as prompt and positive with an unambiguous answer, as is an Arab guide in locating sites in expectation of bakhsheesh. Consistency was evidently of less importance than explicitness in this author's various locations.

In this work,[1] "Kades-Barnea" is called "a city of the Idumeans;" it is said to be "forty miles from Jerusalem towards the south;" its longitude is given at 65° 22′ (corresponding with the modern 35° 22′), and its latitude at 31° 29′ (the same as at present.) Of "Zin-Kades" it is said: "This was a great wilderness lying between Ezion-Gaber and Kades-Barnea, being 184 miles in length, abounding with thorns and high mountains. Upon the north side thereof lay Mount Seir and Kades-Barnea, and towards the south the Red Sea. It was called Paran and Zin, of the abundance of thorns that grew there; for Zin of Zanan, signifies a sharp thorn; Zinnim, full of thorns; and Kadesh, sanctity or holiness. Here Moses and Aaron having struck the Rock twice, at length it brought forth water; but for their murmuring and incredulity God would not suffer them to go into the Land of Canaan. This lay 120 miles from Jerusalem toward the south." Of Rithmah it is affirmed: "It is distant from Jerusalem 112 miles toward the southeast." If only these several statements could have been first reconciled, and then believed, the site of Kadesh-barnea would have been settled conclusively two centuries ago.

Following Adrichomius and Bünting, in the attempt to reconcile the statements of Eusebius and the indications of the Bible-text by

[1] See the English edition, pp. 117, 119, 121.

making a distinction between Kadesh barnea and Kadesh in the Wilderness of Zin, there came Raleigh,[1] of England; Quaresmius,[2] of Italy; Blaeu,[3] and Dapper,[4] of Holland; Heidmann,[5] and Homann,[6] of Germany; Sanson,[7] of France; Spanheim,[8] of the Netherlands, and others. All of these geographers agreed in locating Kadesh-barnea, southerly from Hebron, where the Bible text locates it. They differed, however, in the location of the "Zin which is Kadesh;" some of them placing this not far eastward of Kadesh-barnea, and others placing it even eastward of the Dead Sea.

From travels, meantime, there was little light shed; although an occasional gleam showed itself through such an opening of the desert closures. Roger, a French missionary, on a map accompanying his description of the Holy Land[9] located Kadesh below the Dead Sea, as if in accordance with its noting by Eusebius as reaching toward Petra. It does not appear, however, that he had himself visited that region. At about the same date, Antonio of Castile furnished a map with his record of travels,[10] on which he noted Petra as south of the Dead Sea, and Kadesh as southward from Petra. He, indeed, had a Spanish precedent, in Montano,[11] for the locating of Kadesh-barnea well to the southward, even in the region of Mount Sinai; although the latter placed the site mid-way between the eastern and western bounds of the peninsula, while Antonio's map gave no hint of a peninsula.

[1] *Hist. of World,* "Zin-cades ioyneth to Arabia ye Desert, and Cades-barnea to Idumea" (note to Map, Vol. I., p. 218.)

[2] *Hist. Theolog. et Moral. Terræ Sanctæ,* p. 25 *f.*

[3] Map in *Theat. Orb. Terr.*

[4] Map in *Naukeurige Beschr. van Pal.,* p. 1.

[5] "Tabula II." in *Palæstina.*

[6] Map "Judæa" in *Atlas Novus.*

[7] Nicholas Sanson, and afterward his sons William and Adrian published a number of atlases. In the earliest map by Nicholas which I have seen (Map 66, of the editions of 1664) only one site is claimed for Kadesh, and that in its proper place as Kadesh-barnea; but subsequent maps by the Sansons note two sites.

[8] Map "Palæstina" in *Geog. Sac. et Eccles.*

[9] *La Terre Sainte.*

[10] *El devoto Peregrino.*

[11] Cited as authority for the maps in Plantin's Bible, A. D. 1583.

On the other hand, Christopher Fürer, of Germany, went over the desert between Egypt and Palestine in 1565–67; and afterwards wrote an account of his journeyings in both Latin and German. A later edition of this work,[1] prepared by his brother Jacob, was published in 1646, with carefully-designed maps, and an appended geographical chapter. On these maps, Kadesh and Kadesh-barnea are together on the southern border of the Holy Land, in the proper central position. Again, the map accompanying the itinerary of Salomon Schweigger,[2] of Nuremberg, locates Kadesh at the same point, without duplicating it elsewhere.

It was in the latter half of the seventeenth century,[3] that Lightfoot published his still famous "Horæ Hebraicæ," which threw such a flood of new light on many a dark passage in the Bible and in the Talmud. As has already been mentioned, he took up this puzzling question of a double Reqam and a double Kadesh, and although he did not seem to surmise the reason for the apparent duplicating (in the name of the Rock-Kadesh and the Rock-Petra), he was pronounced in his conviction that Kadesh and Kadesh-barnea were one, or were coincident. Indeed, on this point his argument from the Bible-text was and is unanswerable; and it would seem to be overwhelmingly conclusive.[4] A schoolboy can understand it. In substance it is this: The gathering place of Israel after its thirty-eight years of wandering was "Kadesh;"[5] not called "Kadesh-barnea," but simply Kadesh. That was the "city" Kadesh, on the uttermost borders of Edom, from which the messengers were sent to Edom's king. That Kadesh was the place of murmuring for water; and in consequence it came to be called "Meribah," or "Strife," or "Meribah-Kadesh."[6] Afterwards, Meribah-Kadesh is named as a central or

[1] *Reis-Beschreib.* [2] *Reiss-Beschreib.* [3] From 1658 to 1674.

[4] *Horæ Heb.*, Vol. I., p. 21. [5] Exod. 20: 1.

[6] Comp. Exod. 20: 13, 24; 27: 14; Deut. 32: 51; 33: 8.

pivotal point of the southern boundary of the Holy Land.[1] But again it is declared that the pivotal or central point of the southern boundary of the Holy Land is "Kadesh-barnea;"[2] not Kadesh simply, but Kadesh-barnea. It is therefore clear that both "Kadesh" and "Kadesh-barnea" are identical with "Meribah-Kadesh;" and if proving them equal to the same thing does not prove them equal to each other, one of the familiar axioms of mathematics will have to be amended. The force of that argument has never been shaken, indeed it may be said never to have been directly assailed.

In this matter, however, as in many another, it has been shown that it is easier to mislead popular opinion by an erroneous statement, than to correct popular opinion by a demonstration of that error. Eusebius and Adrichomius were still looked upon as original sources of information concerning the Holy Land and its surroundings; and many a scholar who turned to them for light was influenced by their misconceptions, even after Lightfoot had made the truth clear to those who followed his processes of reasoning. Moreover, the old error of two Kadeshes was given a new start, and with fresh life, in the early part of the eighteenth century by the important works of Cellarius[3] of Germany, Reland[4] of Holland, and Wells[5] of England. Each of these works repeated the old arguments for a double Kadesh, and not one of them met or mentioned the Bible evidence, as presented by Lightfoot, in proof of the identity of Kadesh and Kadesh-barnea. When such leaders as these were newly at fault, it is not to be wondered at that the public generally inclined to the old error.

Yet, all this time there were independent investigators who recognized the plain indications of the Bible text despite the vague and misleading suggestions of Eusebius. Prominent among

[1] Ezek. 47: 19 (margin); 48: 28. [2] Num. 34: 4; Josh. 15: 3.
[3] *Not. Orb. Antiq.* [4] *Palaestina.* [5] *Hist. Geog. of O. T. and N. T.*

these was Hasius, a German mathematician and theologian, whose careful work on the geography of the Holy Land[1] has not had the prominence which its real merit would justify.[2] He recognized Kadesh-barnea as identical with Kadesh in the Wilderness of Zin, and he located it according to the biblical indications, on the southern boundary-line of Judah. Again, Bachiene, a Dutch geographer, approved the identification, by Breydenbach and Fabri, of Kades just below Gaza;[3] and Ernst F. K. Rosenmüller, a German geographer, adopted the same view,[4] although he subsequently[5] wavered in his opinion.

It is unnecessary to track these lines of varying opinion through all the realm of biblical geography and biblical comment, down to the period of fresh investigation, on a broader basis of knowledge, into the facts of the Bible story. It is sufficient to say, that almost without exception *all* were agreed in locating "Kadesh-barnea" on the southern border of the Holy Land, southerly from Hebron, while *some* would find another "Kadesh" nearer to the Dead Sea. The Bible clearly demanded the westerly location of Kadesh-barnea; even Eusebius and Jerome, by a liberal construction, justified it; and scholars were practically a unit in so recognizing the truth, down to the days of Reland, and subsequently.

The arguments in favor of a second Kadesh were, its necessary proximity to the uncertain borders of Edom, together with the inference from the rabbins, and from Josephus, Eusebius, and Jerome, that it was in some way near to Reqam or the Rock, which was supposed to be Petra. To find that the borders of Edom extended westward of the 'Arabah, that the Rock was another name for Kadesh-barnea, as well as a name for a strong-

[1] *Regni Davidici et Salomonæi Descriptio*, etc. Nuremberg, A. D. 1739.

[2] Singularly enough this valuable work finds no mention in the bibliographical list of Robinson or in that of Von Raumer.

[3] *Palaestina*, Vol. V., p. 384, note. [4] *Scholia in V. T.* (Leipzig, A.D. 1795), in loco.

[5] See his *Bibl. Alterth.* (A. D. 1828) III., 86.

hold of Mount Seir, and that the Bible made Kadesh-barnea identical with Kadesh in the Wilderness of Zin, would at any time have proved sufficient to fix the location of Kadesh-barnea, and of course of Kadesh also, southerly from Hebron, where well-nigh all had been ready to admit was one of the two sites, if two were a necessity.

5. FRESH HINTS AND SURMISES FROM DESERT TRAVEL.

Until and during the eighteenth century, the ordinary route of travel between Mount Sinai and Jerusalem, for those who visited those sacred sites, was along the western borders of the peninsula, entering the Holy Land at Gaza. More commonly the route was from Suez to Mount Sinai, and back over the same course; occasionally the route from Mount Sinai was northward to Castle Nakhl, thence northeasterly to Gaza; and on rare occasions a Christian crossed the desert to Mekkeh.[1] A direct journey from Mount Sinai to Hebron was almost or quite unknown; hence there was little opportunity of exploring the region where all the Bible indications would locate Kadesh-barnea. Yet travelers were tempted then, as now, to find more of the Bible sites, in the line of their own journeying, than a close adherence to the Bible descriptions would fully warrant; and this increased the number of suggested locations of Kadesh.

In 1722, Dr. Shaw, an English clergyman, traveled in Egypt, Arabia, and Palestine. He was inclined to locate Kadesh-barnea near Castle Nakhl (which he would identify with En-mishpat), and he argued in favor of this site[2] with more of reason than the advocates of many another site since his day. He recognized this as a prominent oasis in the evident direction of Kadesh-barnea

[1] See, for example, Thevenot's *Reisen*, Frankfort-on-the-Main, A. D. 1693, and Müller's *Fremdling zu Jerusalem*, Vienna and Nuremberg, A. D. 1735.

[2] See his *Travels*, p. 318 *ff*.

from Mount Sinai: and according to his calculation of the distance, this oasis was sufficiently far northward. He was on the right track, but he stopped to locate before his full journey northward was completed. His identification was approved by Van Hamelsveld,[1] a Dutch geographer of the same century.

A little later than Shaw, Bishop Pococke published his extensive "Description of the East," in report of his own travels and studies. In this, he expressed the opinion that Kadesh and the Wilderness of Zin were perhaps to be found "about sixten miles from the convent [at Mount Sinai] to the northwest."[2] His sole reason for this opinion was, that the Prefetto of Egypt had seen there "exactly such another stone as the rock of Massa and Meribah in Rephidim, with the same sort of openings all down, and the signs where the water ran." This stone "was likewise called the stone of Moses," by the Arabs; and it was said that "this must be the rock of Meribah, in the wilderness of Zin or Kadesh, which Moses smote twice, and the water came out abundantly; [this] being after they returned into those parts from Eziongeber." And this is the extent of the disclosures concerning the site of Kadesh-barnea down to the beginning of the present century.

The first traveler of this century who crossed the desert below Palestine by a route which carried him in the vicinity of the region where the Bible indications, and the well-nigh universal opinion of Bible geographers up to his time, would locate Kadesh-barnea, was Seetzen, a German explorer of more than ordinary powers as an observer. His death in Arabia prevented his giving any completed form to the results of his researches; but his published letters and journals comprise much information of value. In March and April, 1807,[3] he journeyed southward from Hebron. On the 30th of March, in the vicinity of Wady el-'Ayn, or more accurately, Wady 'Ayn el-Qadayrât,[4] near the common trunk of

[1] *Bib. Geog.* III., 394. [2] Vol. I., p. 147. [3] *Reisen*, III., 47 *f.*
[4] See Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, I., 189.

the desert-roads, which has been referred to as the probable halting-place of Kedor-la'omer on his northward march,[1] Seetzen encountered 'Azâzimeh Arabs, or the "Adsâsme" as he calls them. And then, on that edge of the 'Azâzimeh mountain tract, he came on a "flat dry wady," which was called "Wadi el-Kdeis." Although Seetzen did not attempt any identification of this name with that of Kadesh, the correspondence of the two names (the Hebrew Qadhesh, and the Arabic Qadees[2]—which seems to be that which is noted by Seetzen) is obvious.

And this is the first hint of the ancient name in the Arabic nomenclature of the region reported by a modern traveler. Yet an old time Arabic geographer[3] had reported a "Qâdoos" at one day's journey south of "Mesjid Ibrâheem" (which Wetzstein understands to be Hebron, but which may be Beer-sheba, as Abraham's "place of worship"). These are new gleams of light on a possible identification of the site of Kadesh-barnea.

After Seetzen came Burckhardt, a Swiss traveler, who was fitted by nature and by careful training for eminent service in his varied fields of Oriental research. He was in the East during most of the time from 1809 until his death at Cairo in 1817. In 1812, he discovered the ruins of ancient Petra, the Rock-City which was doubtless one of the Reqams of the Jewish rabbis and the early Christian writers; and at the same time he opened up to the modern world the extensive 'Arabah, or the Ghôr of the Arabic geographers. In doing this latter service, he suggested that the 'Arabah was Kadesh-barnea;[4] and thereby he not only gave fresh life to the old notion that "Kadesh" was in that vicinity, but he gave a start to a new error, that "Kadesh-barnea" was there in the land of Edom, instead of on the southern border of Judah, west-

[1] See page 42, *supra*. [2] See page 16, *supra*, note.

[3] Maqdisi, as quoted from a manuscript in the Berlin Museum by Wetzstein in "Excursus III.," in Delitzsch's *Com. on Genesis*.

[4] *Travels in Syria*, p. 443.

ward. "The existence of the valley El-Araba," he said, "the Kadesh-barnea, perhaps, of the Scriptures, appears to have been unknown both to ancient and modern geographers, although it forms a prominent feature in the topography of Syria and Arabia Petræa." Burckhardt did not at any time visit the western portion of the upper desert, to become acquainted with the 'Azâzimeh mountain tract which Seetzen had skirted, thereby to be able to compare that region with the 'Arabah; nor did he attempt any argument in proof of his proposed identification of Kadesh-barnea. He simply made the suggestion of the identity of the two places; but that was enough, from such a man as himself, to give the idea not only currency but popular acceptance.

Following Burckhardt, came Rüppell,[1] a German naturalist, who, from 1822 to 1831, made important additions to the sum of knowledge concerning the desert region; but he proffered no suggestion as to the site of Kadesh. In 1828, M. Leon de Laborde, a French artist and biblical scholar, with his companion M. Linant, visited the peninsula of Sinai, and supplemented the discoveries of Burckhardt in the site of ancient Petra by a series of admirable drawings.[2] Laborde accepted the suggestion of Burckhardt that the 'Arabah was Kadesh-barnea,[3] and he even located the "city" of Kadesh at "Embasch,"[4] at the mouth of Wady Jerâfeh, "the great drain of all the long basin between the 'Arabah and the ridges west of Türf er-Rukn, extending from Jebel et-Tîh on the south to the ridge between Jebel 'Arâif and el-Mükrâh on the north."[5]

Another location of the "city," or of the "fountain," of Kadesh, in Burckhardt's 'Arabah-Kadesh, was made by Karl von Raumer, a German scientist and theologian, who studied and wrote upon the wanderings of the Israelites before he had visited the East, and

[1] *Reisen.* [2] *Voyage de l'Arab. Pét.* [3] See his Maps, in his *Voyage.*

[4] *Comment.*, at Num. 33: 36. [5] Robinson's *Bib. Res.* I., 180.

who again discussed the subject in connection with a record of his travels there. It was in 1836 that he proposed an identification of Kadesh in the upper 'Arabah. His description of his location was somewhat confused,[1] as he apparently supposed Jebel Madurah to be nearer the 'Arabah than it is; but subsequently he settled on 'Ayn Hasb[2] as the site for his championship. But all that can be said for or against that site is, that if the Israelites were ever up there in the meshes of that Edomitish net, 'Ayn Hasb would have answered as well as any one of a half dozen spots for Kadesh-barnea.

From the days of Burckhardt and Laborde, the records of desert travel have been numerous and intelligent, quite beyond anything known before that time. Yet, after all, comparatively few travelers have passed up the 'Arabah into the Holy Land, and fewer still have gone directly northward to Hebron from the lower or central desert. Hence the references, from this source, to any supposed site of Kadesh-barnea, are by no means numerous. In 1836, Stephens, an American traveler, went up the 'Arabah, and was naturally inclined to think that Kadesh-barnea must have been somewhere along his route to Hebron.[3] The next year Lord Lindsay, an Englishman, went over the same ground, and had a similar opinion.[4] Von Schubert, who, like Von Raumer and Rüppell, was a German naturalist, was in that region the same year as Lord Lindsay. He thought Kadesh-barnea must have been near Jebel Madurah;[5] and Count Bertou,[6] a Frenchman, who shortly followed him, reported the name "Kadessa" as still lingering there. Other travelers, meantime, may have given their surmises on this point; but I do not find them recorded, although I have looked for this purpose through the writings of Volney,[7] Ali Bey,[8] Irby and Mangles,[9] Legh,[10] Henniker,[11] and Russegger,[12]

[1] *Der Zug der Israel.*, pp. 34–37. [2] *Palästina*, pp. 480–488.
[3] *Incidents of Travel*, II., 112. [4] *Letters*, II., 22, 50. [5] *Reise* II., 444.
[6] Quoted by Robinson, (*Bib. Res.*, first ed. II., 659–669).
[7] *Travels.* [8] *Travels.* [9] *Travels.* [10] "Excursion." [11] *Notes.* [12] *Reisen.*

among those whose routes would have been most likely to suggest an identification of Kadesh-barnea in view of the surmises of their predecessors.

6. ROBINSON'S PROPOSED IDENTIFICATION.

And now we come to a new era in biblical geography, as marked by the travels of Dr. Edward Robinson, an American explorer whose observations in Palestine and the Peninsula of Sinai have practically given the base line and trigonometrical stations for all the following surveys of those lands of the Bible. The subsequent work of scholars and explorers in that region has been, in a sense, little more than the testing of his preliminary surveys. "Robinson's Biblical Researches in Palestine and in the Adjacent Regions" have been hardly less important and influential in their field in our day, than were the works in various former times of Eusebius, and Jerome, and Brocardus, and Adrichomius, and Reland, in a similar field. The many unmistakable new-identifications of biblical sites made by Robinson have been either accepted without question, or abundantly sustained by farther examination; and even his occasional errors of identification have naturally gained a hold on the Bible-studying public hardly less firm and ineradicable than the truths brought out by him.

Robinson was impressed with the striking features of the mountain range on the east of the 'Arabah, where Burckhardt had discovered the ruins of ancient Petra, and he yielded to the traditional identification of Mount Hor at Jebel Neby Hâroon;[1] although it was obviously within the limits of the Mount Seir which the Israelites were not permitted to enter. From this divergence he was farther led to believe that the Israelites, instead of going across the "great and terrible wilderness" of the Desert

[1] *Bib. Res.*, II., 131-173.

et-Teeh by any direct route from Mount Sinai to Canaan, actually descended into the 'Arabah, and proceeded northward into a region which he had before recognized as within the probable reach of Edom's occupancy.[1] And there, in that Edomitish territory, on the open highway, exposed to hostile attack in every direction, and in no sense covered or secluded, was his suggested site for Kadesh-barnea, an objective point of an invading army; whence to send spies into the enemy's country beyond it.

The precise spot selected by Robinson for the site of Kadesh-barnea was 'Ayn el-Waybeh, a desert spring near the western slope of the 'Arabah, and just above the western bank of the Wady el-Jayb, the peculiar "wady within a wady"[2] which is "the vast drain of all the 'Arabah,"[3] and which in the rainy season receives also the water-flow of the Wady Jerâfeh which in turn drains the western desert of Et-Teeh. 'Ayn el-Waybeh is in a northwesterly direction from Jebel Neby Hâroon, and on the opposite side of the 'Arabah.

Referring to Wady el-Jayb, as one crosses it from east to west, Robinson says:[4] "Just on its westward side, where the land slopes up very gradually into a tract of low limestone hills, lies 'Ain el-Weibeh, one of the most important watering places in all the great valley. There are here indeed three fountains, issuing from the chalky rock of which the slope is composed. . . . The three fountains are some rods apart, running out in small streams from the foot of a low rise of ground, at the edge of the hills. The water is not abundant; and in the two northernmost sources has a sickly hue, like most desert fountains, with a taste of sulphuretted hydrogen. . . . But the southernmost source consists of three small rills of limpid and good water, flowing out at the bottom of a small excavation in the rock. The soft chalky stone has crumbled away, forming a semicircular ledge about six feet high around the

[1] See page 86, *supra*. [2] *Bib. Res.*, II., 120. [3] *Ibid.*, II., 118. [4] *Ibid.*, II., 174.

spring, and now a few feet distant from it. The intermediate space is at present occupied by earth; but the rock apparently once extended out, so that the water actually issued from its base." Yet all this "rock" is down in Wady 'Arabah; and the name of the fountain "El-Weibeh" is according to Robinson's own rendering, a "Hole with Water."[1]

It is evident that there is no trace of the former importance or sacredness of "Kadesh-barnea," in the name, or in the appearance, of "'Ain el-Weibeh" at the present day. Indeed on this point Robinson says: "We could find here no trace of the remains of former dwellings." And again: "The surrounding desert has long since resumed its rights; and all traces of the city and of its very name have disappeared." It would, in fact, have been very strange if, at any time, a "city," or a settlement of any kind, had been attempted there "upon the plain, or rather the rolling desert of the 'Arabah;" the surface of which, in that very region, is "everywhere furrowed and torn with the beds of torrents."[2] And as to the "rock" from the "base" of which the water is supposed to have formerly issued, Robinson evidently employs the word in a geological rather than a popular sense; for there is no Rock, no "Sel'a," no imposing cliff, down there in the 'Arabah bed. The "soft chalky stone" which may have once been the basin wall of the "Hole with Water," is a sorry representative of the Sel'a "before" which Moses and Aaron "gathered the congregation together," when the people had murmured for lack of its accustomed water-flow.[3]

In support of his identification of 'Ayn el-Waybeh as Kadesh-barnea, Robinson proffered no proofs beyond other suggested identifications in the neighborhood; all of which identifications must

[1] See Eli Smith's "Arabic Index," *s. v.* "el-Weibeh," *Bib. Res.*, III., first edition; also Robinson's Index to *Bib. Res.*, II., 591.

[2] *Bib. Res.*, II., 121.

[3] Num. 20.

stand or fall with this one.[1] Thus, for example, he now deemed the 'Arabah as the "uttermost border" of ancient Edom westward, although he had before expressed the opinion that this was not so; and he gave no reason for a change of his opinion, unless it were that the fixing of Kadesh-barnea at 'Ayn el-Waybeh made a change of the supposed boundaries of Edom a necessary sequence.

But whether Robinson had good arguments or none at all in support of one of his identifications, his soundness and accuracy at so many points were sufficient to carry the multitude with him, and to incline even other good scholars in his direction, in every case where his expression of conviction was positive. Hence it came to pass, that 'Ayn el-Waybeh took its place as a proper site for Kadesh-barnea.

7. ROWLANDS'S DISCOVERY.

It was just after the first publication of Robinson's "Biblical Researches," that another new element was introduced into the discussion of the Kadesh-barnea question, by a remarkable discovery made by the Rev. John Rowlands, an English clergyman, who was a friend and companion of Canon Williams, then chaplain to Bishop Alexander of Jerusalem.

Rowlands had already passed some time in the East, including a winter in Egypt, a summer in Mount Lebanon, and nine months in Jerusalem.[2] He had been twice through the Sinaitic desert, taking both the eastern and western routes, and becoming familiar

[1] He even looks at the Smooth Mountain, eight hours distant from 'Ayn el-Waybeh, as the mountain which the Israelites ascended from Kadesh (Num. 14 : 40); and he says that the name Es-Sŭfâh "is in form *identical* with the Hebrew Zephath" (*Bib. Res.* II., 181); although it is not easy to see how צְפַת and الصفاة can be called "identical" in either form or meaning.

[2] The facts given herewith are obtained from my personal correspondence with Mr. Rowlands, in supplement of the information published in his report of his discoveries, as herein referred to.

with the 'Arabah, as well as with the western route into Palestine. Beginning the study of Arabic under a Syrian priest at Constantinople, he acquired sufficient familiarity with the language, not only to write it, but to speak it with tolerable proficiency. His Bible studies had satisfied him of the general location of Kadesh-barnea, on the southern border of Canaan, and he became interested in a search for its site. His first movement in this direction was with his friend Williams, in a trip from Hebron, southward, in October, 1842, under the guidance of "Sheikh Salim of the Teahars"[1] (Teeyâhah?) Their discovery of the southern border line of the Promised Land, in the natural barrier of the Smooth Mountain (Mount Halak), as they stood on that wall-rampart, at the westward of Jebel Madurah, has already been cited.[2] It was while they stood there, that Shaykh Selim informed them that at some distance westerly (or southwesterly), there was a place known as "Kadese," which they instantly recognized as a term correspondent with Kadesh, or Kadesh-barnea, on that same southern boundary line. But they were at that time unable to pursue their investigations farther; and they returned to Jerusalem with only this gleam of horizon-light on the site of Kadesh.

It was subsequent to this, that Rowlands made a new and successful attempt to find the ancient site. On his leaving Jerusalem for his home, he took the route by Hebron and Gaza in order that he might pursue his search on the strength of the hint from Shaykh Selim. His companion on this trip was Mr. Johns, architect of the English church at Jerusalem, and for a time the British vice-consul there. At Gaza, Rowlands sent for two shaykhs of the Terâbeen Arabs, a tribe which roams from Gaza to Suez, and eastward toward, and even into, the 'Azâzimeh mountain tract. "When they came," he says,[3] "I explained to them where we

[1] See Williams's *Holy City*, Appendix, p. 487. [2] See page 95 *f.*, *supra*.

[3] This, also, is from a letter written to me by Mr. Rowlands, under date of Sept. 20, 1882.

wished to go, and what we wanted to find, and asked them if they knew any place in their territory or neighborhood called Kadesh, or Kades, or Kâdes, and they said at once, 'La, Ḥawajah, mafish'; 'No, sir, there is not,' or 'there is nothing of the sort.' 'Perhaps I do not pronounce it properly, or as you do,' I said; and I tried 'Kodes,' 'Koodes,' and 'Kudes'; but they still persisted in saying 'No'—'La, mafish,' or '-feesh'—'No, there is nothing of the sort.' Having tried again various sounds, I happened to say 'Kadeis,' or 'Kadâse,' laying the accent, or emphasis, on the last syllable, and they cried out at once, 'Fi, fi, fi,' 'There is, there is, there is;' 'Ain Kadéis,' or 'Qadeis,' sounding the 'K,' or 'Q,' somewhat like 'G,' that is, hard 'G.' I asked them all about it, and what sort of place it was, and whether they would take us by it; . . . and they agreed to do so."

This new journey of Rowlands proved eventful in its discoveries. It was then that he identified "Sebâtah" as the site of ancient Zephath;[1] that he pointed out "the grand plain called Es-Serr" as "the Seir alluded to in Deuteronomy 1: 44," where the Amorites chased the defeated Israelites toward Kadesh-barnea; and that he called attention to Moilahi, or Moilâhhi, as the possible site of Hagar's Well, or Beer-lahai roi.[2] His only formal report of this journey was in a familiar letter to his friend Williams, which found a place in the Appendix to the latter's volume, "The Holy City," published several years later.[3] That portion of this letter which describes the visit to "Kaddese," or Qadees, is here given in full:

"Now, my dear friend, for *Kadesh*, my much-talked-of and long-sought-for Kadesh. You may conceive with what pleasure I tell you, that I have at length found this important and interesting locality to my entire satisfaction. Our excitement (I can speak at least for mine while we stood before the Rock smitten by

[1] Judges 1: 17. [2] Gen. 16: 14. [3] In 1845.

Moses, and gazed upon the lovely stream which still issues forth under the base of this Rock) would be quite indescribable. I cannot say that we stood still—our excitement was so great that we could not stand still. We paced backwards and forwards; examining the rock and the source of the stream; looking at the pretty little cascades which it forms as it descends into the channel of a rain torrent beneath; sometimes chipping off some pieces of the rock, and at other times picking up some specimens and some flowers along a green slope beneath it.

The Rock is a large single mass, or a small hill, of solid rock, a spur of the mountain to the north of it rising immediately above it. It is the only visible naked rock in the whole district. The stream, when it reaches the channel, turns westward, and, after running about three or four hundred yards, loses itself in the sand. I have not seen such a lovely sight anywhere else in the whole desert—such a copious and lovely stream. I took two vials full of it away with me. Shall I send you one? I think I must do it, if you will not go and see Kadesh yourself. But I must give you some particulars about the locality of Kades, or Kudes, as it is called. I shall therefore first of all describe the position, and then adduce my proofs for its identity with ancient Kadesh-barnea. The waters of Kades, called Ain Kades, lie to the east of the highest part of Jebel Halal, towards its northern extremity, about twelve miles (or four and a-half hours by camel) to the E.S.E. of Moilâhhi. I think it must be something like due south from Khalasa.

But to the *proofs*, which is the most important point. 1. Its name Kades, or Kudes (pronounced in English Kaddáse or Kuddáse), is exactly the Arabic form of the Hebrew name Kadesh; the *K*, as you will find in both the Hebrew and the Arabic, not being the common Kâf, but Kôf; and giving the *a* sound, somewhat resembling the short *u*. 2. The locality corresponds with, or falls in the line of, the southern boundary of the

Promised Land (Josh. 15 : 1, 8), from the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, by Safaa [Sufah] or Maaleh-Akrabbim, the Wady el-Murra, and the Wady el-Arish, or the river of Egypt. 3. It corresponds also with the order in which the places of the border are mentioned. Adar and Azmon, two places in the border, which we have discovered in the names Adeirat and Aseimeh, sometimes called Kadeirat and Kaseimeh, now, and perhaps always, merely fountains or springs, lie to the west of Kades, and Wady el-Arish, or [the] river of Egypt, succeeds in the same line. 4. It lies east of Jebel el-Halal, or Mount *Halak*, mentioned somewhere by Jeremiah [Joshua] as the uttermost extremity of the Promised Land to the south. 5. It lies at the foot of the mountain of the Amorites (Deut. 1: 19). 6. It is situated near the grand pass or entrance into the Promised Land by the Beer Lahai-roi, which is the only easy entrance from the desert to the east of Halal, and most probably the entrance to which the Hebrews were conducted from Sinai towards the Land of Promise. 7. A good road leads to this place all the way from Sinai, and the distance is about five days of dromedary-riding, or about ten or eleven days of common camel-riding, as the Bedouins stated (Deut. 1: 2). 8. A grand road, still finer, I was told, by broad wadies, goes from Kades to Mount Hor [Jebel Neby Hâroon] (Num. 20 : 22). 9. The nature of the locality itself answers in every respect to the description given of it in Scripture, or rather inferred from it—the mountains to the east of Kades, and some very grand ones to the south, called Jebel Kades, 'the wilderness of Kadesh,' the Rock, the water, and the grand space for encampment which lies to the southwest of it, a large rectangular plain about nine by five, or ten by six miles, and this opening to the west into the still more extensive plain of Paran.

But enough of Kadesh. I must hasten on to Suez, without making many notes or comments on our journey."

8. THE CONFUSION OF SITES.

There was quite another state of things in the Kadesh-barnea discussion, when the opinion of Robinson and the discovery of Rowlands were fairly before the public. The advantage to begin with, in this new state of things, was largely on the side of Robinson. He was widely known, and was fittingly recognized as preeminent in his sphere. His opinion was published, and, as a matter of course, was generally accepted, before the report of Rowlands was given to the world. Rowlands, on the other hand, had no such commanding position; and his story of his discovery, when it followed Robinson's claim, was practically hidden in an appendix to a work which was itself made prominent in opposition to Robinson on quite another matter than the site of Kadesh-barnea.[1] Had the case rested with the English-speaking world alone, it seems probable that the discovery of Rowlands would have been permanently left in an eddy caused by the resistless sweep of Robinson's great reputation. But the case was not rested there.

However the English and American public might be carried along by the opinion of one leading mind, the critical, thorough, and impartial scholars of Germany were sure to weigh carefully all the evidence in the case before they accepted the conclusions of even such an explorer as Robinson on a point like the identification of Kadesh-barnea. The first uplifting of the discovery of Rowlands into anything like its due prominence, was by Professor Tuch, of Leipzig, an eminent biblical student and Oriental scholar. In 1847, in a careful study of the campaign of Kedor-la'omer, published in the Journal of the German Oriental Society,[2] Tuch showed conclusively that Kadesh must have been located in the

[1] Williams was the champion of the traditional site of the Holy Sepulchre, as over against Robinson on the other side.

[2] *Zeitschrift des deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. I., pp. 160 *ff.*, 169 *ff.*

very region where Rowlands had found 'Ayn Qadees; and he was confident that the ancient site had been there discovered. Almost at the same time, Professor Winer, of Leipzig, a foremost biblical cyclopedist, accepted the identification, and gave it a place in a new edition of his Biblical Cyclopedia.[1] Tuch's article was translated by Professor Samuel Davidson, a well-known English biblical scholar, and published in Kitto's Journal of Sacred Literature.[2] Just then, also, Dr. John Wilson, an Oriental scholar and traveler, declared against Robinson's identification, and spoke favorably of that of Rowlands, in his admirable work "The Lands of the Bible.[3]" And now, the site 'Ayn Qadees had such backing as commanded respect even in opposition to a site approved by the eminent Robinson.

It was in response to these German critics that Robinson came out anew in defense of his own identification, and in opposition to that proposed by Rowlands; and it was at that time that Robinson's statements, and his misstatements, concerning both Rowlands and his discovery, introduced an element of confusion into the discussion of the Kadesh-barnea question which has continued as a cause of perplexity down to the present day, and which it is one object of this book to eliminate. It is, in fact, hardly to be wondered at, that the judicial faculty of a mind like Robinson's should have been disturbed by the unexpected evidence of his error in so important an identification as that of a pivotal point in the lower boundary line of Palestine, and in the history of the Israelitish wanderings, coupled with the claim that a comparatively unknown traveler had penetrated the mountain tract which Robinson had not been able to explore,[4] and had actually discovered there the ancient site of Kadesh with its still existing name. How could such a state of facts fail of prejudicing the chiefly-interested party against a rival identification?

[1] *Bib. Realwörterb.*, s. v. "Kadesch." [2] For July, 1848.

[3] Vol. I., p. 338. [4] See *Bib. Res.* I., 186; II., 193, note.

Robinson's new defense of 'Ayn el-Waybeh, or rather his criticisms upon 'Ayn Qadees and its discoverer (for it was in that form that his comments were made), appeared first in an article in the "Bibliotheca Sacra" for May, 1849, and again in foot-notes to the later editions of his "Biblical Researches."[1] Referring to the report of Rowlands, Robinson said, in his magazine article: "Until recently it has seemed to me, that the very fanciful and amusingly credulous character of the whole narrative would put every one upon his guard; and furnish in itself the best exposition of the fallacy of the whole matter. But the idea has since been taken up by Prof. Tuch of Leipzig, as falling in with a theory of his own on another topic;[3] and his article has been translated by Prof. Davidson, and published in England. Winer, also, in the new edition of his 'Realwörterbuch' (art. 'Kadesch') adopts the same view, relying on the supposed identity of the name. Hence it has become worth while to bring the matter to the test of examination."

And first "the test of examination" is to be applied to the discoverer, rather than to the discovery. "Mr. Rowlands appears in his writings, and is described by those who know him," says Robinson, "as a very amiable man; but fanciful, visionary, and full of credulity." Then, an anonymous letter received by Robinson is quoted, as saying of Rowlands and his report: "His letter in Williams' Appendix, is a tissue of moonshine." After the discoverer, the discovery is examined. An item from the report of Rowlands is quoted, as follows: "The water of Kudes, called 'Ain Kades, lies about twelve miles (or four and a half hours by camel) to the E. S. E. of Moilâhhi." On this Robinson com-

[1] "Notes on Biblical Geography," pp. 377–381. [2] Vol. I., p. 189; II., 194.

[3] This other topic on which Tuch had a theory, was the location of Kadesh in the days of Kedor-la'omer. Tuch having shown that Kadesh was in a certain region at *that* period, was prepared to believe that it might have remained there, even until Rowlands re-discovered its site.

ments: "Where then is this Kudes? The reader, perhaps, will be surprised to learn that the spot here pointed out is mentioned both by Seetzen and in the text of the Biblical Researches, and is inserted on our map. If he will turn to the map he will find marked, in that direction, and about that distance from el-Muweileh, a fountain called *'Ain el-Kudeirât;* it is a little east of our route, and is described by us according to the accounts of the Arabs.[1] The *Kudeirât* are a tribe or clan of Arabs in this region, who water their flocks at this fountain, and sometimes as far north as Beersheba.[2] Seetzen lodged at one of their encampments.[3] The conclusion is inevitable, that the name *Kudes* as here presented by Mr. Rowlands is a mere blunder of a tyro in Arabic for *el-Kudeirât.*"

A conclusion drawn by Robinson on this "test of examination" is: "As therefore the whole hypothesis of a Kadesh in this place rests upon the supposed identity of name; and the said name is thus shown to be a mere blunder; it might perhaps be sufficient to let the matter rest here." Yet to make the conclusion surer, as he looks at it, Robinson presses several added points against the site of "'Ain el-Kudeirât" (which *he* has decided is Rowlands's supposed "Kudes,") prominent among which points is the following: "According to the scriptural account, both the spies and the Israelites on entering the Promised Land from Kadesh, had immediately to ascend a mountain.[4] If Kadesh was at 'Ain el-Weibeh or in the vicinity, all this is a natural and exact representation; since the ascent from the great valley begins immediately back of that fountain. But if Kadesh be sought at 'Ain el-Kudeirât or anywhere in that region, the language of Scripture is wholly inapplicable. The tract between the latter spot and Beersheba is an open rolling country; there are swells, but no mountain, to be crossed;

[1] *Bib. Res.*, I., 280. [2] *Bib. Res.*, II., 619. [3] Ritter, *Erdk.* XIV., p. 837 *f.*
[4] Num. 13: 17; 14: 44, 45; Deut. 1: 24, 41.

and none to be ascended until we reach the mountains of Palestine proper on the north of Beersheba towards Hebron; a distance from 'Ain el-Kudeirât of about sixty miles, or four days' march for troops."

Now, apart from the personal criticisms of Mr. Rowlands by Dr. Robinson, there are several remarkable statements in the exceptions here taken to the report of the former's discovery. So far from having confounded "Kudeirât" with "Kudes," Rowlands distinctly affirms that "*Kadeirat* and Kaseimeh, now, and perhaps always, merely fountains or springs, *lie to the west of Kades*."[1] It is but fair to presume that Robinson examined his own "map" rather than the report of Rowlands while bringing the latter to "the test of examination." And, inasmuch as Seetzen had, long before, heard the name "Kdeis" in this region, and as Rowlands had been prompted to this very search by hearing that a similar name was to be found here, it would hardly be fair to suppose that the name itself was wholly based on another so dissimilar as Kudeirât, even if the positive proof to the contrary were not in the very report which Robinson was criticising. Moreover, as Rowlands gave eight distinct reasons for the identification, in addition to the correspondence of name, and noted them separately with Arabic numerals, it is somewhat surprising to learn that "the whole hypothesis of a Kadesh in this place rests upon the supposed identity of name." As to Robinson's supplemental series of arguments against the site of "Kades," as they chiefly rest on his mistake of supposing that Rowlands had "'Ain el-Kudeirât" in mind, they are practically irrelevant to the case.[2] Robinson admits that he never saw 'Ayn el-Qadayrât, but merely heard about it from the Arabs. Whether or not, therefore, there was a mountain just north of it was fairly an open question; and again it would have

[1] See the text of Rowlands's report, at page 215, *supra*.

[2] Those which would, otherwise, have any weight, have been forestalled in the earlier geographical studies of this volume.

no proper bearing on this discussion, in any event, as it was not 'Ayn el-Qadayrât that was proposed as the site of Kadesh-barnea.

This being the substance of Robinson's magazine article, against Rowlands as a discoverer and against the site discovered by Rowlands, its misstatements were condensed for a reappearance in the notes to "Biblical Researches." Referring to "'Ain el-Kudeirât," Robinson says:[1] "This is the spot called by Mr. Rowlands, *Kudes* and visited by him as Kadesh-barnea. He obviously made out the name *Kudes* by misunderstanding the name of the tribe who water at this fountain. There is no other foundation for supposing a Kadesh here." And again:[2] "Mr. Rowlands supposes that he found Kadesh at the fountain el-'Ain in the high western desert. . . . That fountain is called also 'Ain el-Kudeirât, from a tribe of Arabs who water there.[3] Out of this name Mr. Rowlands, or his Greek dragoman, seems to have made Kudês, and on the strength of this blunder, assumed there the site of Kadesh." Yet when we bring these notes of Robinson "to the test of examination," by comparison with Mr. Rowlands's original report, and his supplemental statement, we find that: 1. It was not his dragoman who led him into the blunder of confounding "Kudeirât" with "Kudes." 2. His dragoman was not a Greek. 3. He had no dragoman. 4. He made no blunder, on the point in question; and the proof that he made none was in his original report, which was overlooked by Robinson while he was examining his own map. For any further "test of examination" in this matter, the substantial facts are now before any reader who would decide the point for himself.

Robinson's influence was sufficient to carry along with him a large portion of the English-speaking people, by the mere fact of his opinion rather than by the strength of his argument. If *he*

[1] *Bib. Res.* I., 189, note. [2] *Ibid.* II., 194, note.

[3] It is more probable that the tribe of Arabs takes its name from the fountain. That is the common order in the East.

could say that he still believed in 'Ayn el-Wayweh, why should an average man have any doubt on the subject? But German scholars were not to be led in that way. They asked for proofs rather than asseverations on a point once fairly in debate. And as a result of their inquiry and investigation, the current of scholarly testimony in favor of Rowlands's identification gained steadily and largely in Germany; nor did that identification lack acceptance and support from reputable and independent scholars in England and America.

Even before the discovery of Rowlands was made public, other scholars, including Ewald, and Ritter, and Rabbi Schwarz,[1] had declared, in the light of all modern research, in favor of a location of Kadesh at a more westerly site than the 'Arabah; the last named of these scholars having proposed an identification of Kadesh-barnea at a "Wady Gaian," or "Wady Abiat,"[2] [Wady Abyad] connected with Wady Beerayn, a little to the northward of Wady el-'Ayn; although he was disposed also to understand that the talmudic reference to a double Reqam involved the acceptance of a second Kadesh.[3]

So far as I can see, the first thorough and convincing argument in favor of Rowlands's site was made by Fries, a German scholar, in an article "On the Position of Kadesh," as published in the German critical magazine "Studien und Kritiken," in 1854. His work went farther than that of Tuch, in showing the western stretch of Edom, and in a careful treatment of the Negeb; moreover he showed the insuperable objections to a location of Kadesh in the 'Arabah. Fries was followed by Kurtz in another masterly exhibit of the facts and arguments in this discussion. Indeed Kurtz had issued the first edition of his work, the "History of the Old Covenant," before Fries's article appeared; but in subsequent editions he quoted freely from Fries, and gave him unstinted credit.[4]

[1] See Kurtz's *Hist of Old Cov.* III., 201.

[2] *Descript. Geog. of Pal.* (American ed.) pp. 23, 39.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 214 *f.* [4] See *Hist. of Old Cov.*, English ed. III., 194-210.

It would even seem as if these presentations of the case would alone have been sufficient, in the absence of farther argument, to have convinced any impartial student who should examine them. But they were not to be left alone.

Ritter, in his new edition of his great geographical work, spoke approvingly of Rowlands's proposed identification;[1] as also did Ewald with some qualification.[2] Keil and Delitzsch,[3] Kalisch,[4] Knobel,[5] Lange,[6] Menke,[7] Völter,[8] Strauss,[9] Hamburger,[10] Arnold,[11] Volck and Mühlau,[12] and others among the Germans, accepted it unqualifiedly, or referred to it as thus accepted. Bunsen, also, is cited as of this opinion.[13] Graetz,[14] while evidently misled by some of Robinson's misstatements concerning Rowlands and his discovery, admitted that the site of Kadesh at 'Ayn Qadees, was verified by subsequent research and argument. Meanwhile among English scholars, Wilton,[15] Wordsworth,[16] Alford,[17] Palmer,[18] Tristram,[19] Edersheim,[20] Geikie,[21] and others, came to a similar conclusion with the best German scholars, by an independent process of reasoning, or adopted the conclusions of those investigators. The best work in the same line by American scholars was done by

[1] *Geog. of Pal.*, Am. ed., I., 429-433.
[2] *Hist. of Israel*, Eng. ed., II., 193, note.
[3] *Bib. Com.* at Gen. 14: 7, and at Num. 13: 11-16; 20: 14-21; also Keil's *Com. on Ezek.* at 47: 19.
[4] *Hist. and Crit. Com. on O. T.* at Gen. 14: 5-7.
[5] *Exeget. Handb.* at Num. 33: 36, 37, and at Josh. 15: 3, 4.
[6] *Schaff-Lange Com.* at Num. 20: 1.
[7] *Bibelatlas*, Map No. III.
[8] *Das Heilige Land*, p. 319.
[9] *Sinai u. Golgatha*, p. 123.
[10] *Real-Encyc. für Bibel u. Talm.*, s. v. "Kades."
[11] In Herzog's *Real-Encyc.* Art. "Kadesch."
[12] See their Gesenius's *Heb. Germ. Lex.*, eighth ed., *s. v.* "Kadesh. "Kadesh is usually located at the spring 'Ain Kudês; Robinson, on the contrary, misplaced it at the 'Arabah."
[13] See Clark's *Bible Atlas*, p. 26.
[14] *Gesch. d. Juden.* I., 396.
[15] See *The Negeb* passim; also Fairbairn's *Imp. Bib. Dic.*, s. v. "Kadesh."
[16] *Bible with Notes*, at Gen. 14: 5-7.
[17] *Genesis*, etc., at 14: 5-7.
[18] *Des. of Exod.* II., 350-358; 509-520.
[19] *Bible Places*, pp. 3-6.
[20] *Exod. and Wand.* p. 165 *f.*
[21] *Hours with Bible*, II., 327 *f.*

President Bartlett,[1] of Dartmouth College, and Professor Lowrie,[2] of Allegheny.

Had it not been, indeed, that the followers of Robinson on this point, in England and America, were men who controlled the avenues to *popular* biblical knowledge, the question in dispute would have long ago been settled beyond the possibility of a re-opening. Nor would even this advantage have availed them, if it had not been for their constant repetition of Robinson's undisputed misstatement concerning Rowlands's confusion of 'Ayn el-Qadayrât with 'Ayn Qadees; a misstatement which a single reference by any one of them to the original report of Rowlands would have promptly ruled out of the controversy.

Even so valuable a work as the "Speaker's Commentary" has aided in promoting popular error on this subject. Its comments on the Book of Numbers were primarily prepared by the Rev. J. F. Thrupp, who held to the westerly site of Kadesh; but, as he died before his work was completed, his notes were revised by the Rev. T. E. Espin, who followed Robinson in his opinions and in his errors, and changed the direction of the comments accordingly.[3] Espin's arguments against the identification at 'Ayn Qadees include the utterly baseless idea that 'Ayn Qadees is located at 'Ayn el-Qadayrât; and it even makes the topographical blunder of claiming that "[Wady] el-Ain is on high ground," and that "from it the spies must have gone *down* rather than *up* towards Hebron."[4] The baselessness of the suggestion that Qadees and Qadayrât were confounded in Rowlands's identification, would be evident to any-one who turned for himself to the report of Rowlands; and the absurdity of the claim that one must go *down* rather than *up* in passing from either Qadees or Qadayrât towards Hebron, would be seen on the first glance at a sectional view of the country, such as

[1] *Egypt to Pal.*, pp. 356–378. [2] *Schaff-Lange Com.* at Num. 13: 26.

[3] See *Speaker's Com.*, "Introduction to the Book of Numbers," p. 654.

[4] *Ibid.*, "Note on Chap. 13: 26.

is given in Stanley's "Sinai and Palestine," or in Clark's "Bible Atlas;" but, on the other hand, he who depended on the "Speaker's Commentary" for information on these points, would inevitably be led astray, and so be prepared to accept the supplemental commentator's opinion, that Kadesh is to be identified with 'Ayn el-Waybeh.

The same errors that deface the "Speaker's Commentary" stand out quite as prominently in the widely-known "Bible Atlas" of the Rev. Samuel Clark, above referred to. This geographical work actually declares[1] that the fountain discovered by Rowlands, and proposed by him as the site of Kadesh, is "called Ain el-Kudeirât," and on the strength of this baseless assumption it argues against the identification, reiterating the absurd topographical blunder, "that the road from the Ain el-Kudeirât into the Holy Land is down hill." Of course it is not to be supposed that Mr. Clark had either referred to the report of Rowlands on which he was commenting, or that he had compared his own statement of the down-grade towards Hebron with the sectional view of the desert approach of the Holy Land which was presented in his own Atlas;[2] but this reason for *his* being in error would not guard from the same error those who looked to him for direction in geographical studies.

Dr. William Smith's "Ancient Atlas," also a popular standard in its sphere, approves Robinson's identification,[3] and takes exception to that of Rowlands, although in his maps the geographer notes, as possible sites, both Robinson's and Rowlands's, and adds a third one, 'Ayn esh-Shehâbeh, between those two; and in his "Old Testament History,"[4] he seems to favor each one of these three sites in turn. In "Smith's Bible Dictionary," however, there is evidence that the report of Rowlands has been referred to

[1] *Bible Atlas*, pp. 24–26.
[2] *Bible Atlas*, Plate II., Map No. 4.
[3] In notes on Map 39, at page 25.
[4] Chap. XIII., Note "B."

by the writer on "Kadesh."[1] Yet the preference is given by that writer to 'Ayn el-Waybeh, as the nearest approximation to a probable site of Kadesh among the many already suggested. An opinion like this, however poorly supported, in such an avenue of knowledge, would inevitably have more influence with the public generally, than a dozen elaborate essays in sources of critical study.

Keith Johnston's "Royal Atlas," also, is conformed to Robinson's opinion. And what has proved yet more misleading than the "Bible Atlas" and the "Ancient Atlas" and the "Royal Atlas" combined, is the fact that Kadesh-barnea is located at 'Ayn el-Waybeh in the maps of the Teachers' Bibles, of the Oxford University Press, of the Bagsters, and of the Queen's Printers. By this means, millions of young Bible-students have been started wrong in their Bible geography; for there are those who would as soon doubt the inspiration of the chronology of the Bible margins, as the geography of the Bible maps.

Porter, who has the popular ear through his editing of Murray's "Hand-book for Syria and Palestine," and as the writer of the article "Kadesh" in Kitto's "Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature," follows Robinson in the claim that Rowlands "was evidently misled . . by a fancied resemblance in names," in his discovery of 'Ayn Qadees, but he is original in his suggestion that the site of that fountain is "in the midst of the desert of Tîh."[2] His opinion is of course made known to multitudes who are unfamiliar with the results of modern critical and geographical research in the lands of the Bible. Fausset, in the "Englishman's Critical and Expository Bible Cyclopedia"[3] adopts Robinson's identification of 'Ayn el-Waybeh, and also his misstatement that 'Ayn Qadees is at Wady el-'Ayn. Drew, in his "Scripture Lands,"[4] and Payne

[1] The Rev. Henry Hayman.

[2] *Alexander's Kitto*, Art. "Kadesh."

[3] Art. "Kadesh."

[4] pp. 75-78.

Smith in "The Bible Educator,"[1] also favor Robinson's site,[2] while Kitto's "Scripture Lands"[3] accommodatingly approves the identifications of both Robinson and Rowlands; going back to the old-time idea of a double Kadesh, which was so thoroughly exploded by Lightfoot, two centuries ago. Yet Kitto had earlier argued sensibly against the idea of a two-fold site.[4]

Among the Germans, Von Gerlach[5] would locate Kadesh in the 'Arabah, as would Hitzig,[6] who hesitated between 'Ayn el-Waybeh, and 'Ayn Hasb (somewhat farther north) as advocated by Von Raumer. Indeed it ought to be said that a number of Germans have, earlier or later, favored the location of Kadesh at some point in the 'Arabah, even though they did not coincide with Robinson, in fixing it at 'Ayn el-Waybeh. Thus Unruh[7] favored 'Ayn Hasb; Reuss,[8] and Berghaus,[9] would find a site at some point near Ezion-geber, where Buddeus,[10] a century ago, suggested it; and Bässler[11] named Wady Ghuwayr for the location.

El-Khaloos, or Elusa, was advocated as the site of Kadesh by an over-positive English writer.[12] Holland inclined to some site at the southeastern point of Jebel Muqrâh;[13] and there indeed is 'Ayn esh-Shehâbeh, or Shehâbeeyeh, a living spring which has been often named as a possible site for Kadesh,[14] but which no one seems to have visited.[15] Conder[16] sweeps all along the upper

1 Vol. I., p. 231.

2 Payne Smith does not name 'Ayn el-Waybeh, but his description corresponds with its site.

3 See p. 81; also "General Index," p. 56.

4 See citations from Kitto's *Pictorial Bible*, and his earlier editions of *Bible Cyclopedia*, in Bush's *Notes on Numbers*, at 20: 1.

5 *Com. on Pent.* at Num. 13: 26; 20: 13.

6 *Der Prophet Ezekiel*, p. 371.

7 *Der Zug der Israel.*, p. 66.

8 *L'Histoire Sainte*, III., 264, note.

9 *Special-Karte von Syrien.*

10 *Hist. Eccles.*, A. D. 1744.

11 *Das Heilige Land*, p. 131.

12 H. C., in *Jour. of Sac. Lit.* for April, 1860, p. 57.

13 *Report of Brit. Assoc.* for 1878, p. 622 *ff.*

14 See Clark's *Bib. Atlas*, p. 25; Smith's *Anc. Atlas*, Map 39, etc.

15 See Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, I., 179.

16 In *Quart. Stat. of Pal. Explor. Fund* for Jan., 1881, p. 60 *f.*

'Arabah in his preferences; "say from Petra to Tell el-Milh, at the foot of Nukb es-Sufa." He strangely suggests a correspondence between "Maderah" and "Adar."

Of Americans, there are comparatively few who have made special and independent studies in this direction. Bartlett and Lowrie have been already named as approving Rowlands's site. On the other hand, Bush,[1] Coleman,[2] Durbin,[3] Barrows,[4] and others, followed Robinson. Olin[5] suggested Wady Feqreh. McClintock and Strong[6] adopted Von Raumer's location at 'Ayn Hasb, and Abbott and Conant[7] did the same. Crosby,[8] expressed his belief that Kadesh was to be found at some point near Jebel Muqrâh; and this is practically the view of Holland. Naturally, however, the opinion of Robinson carried great weight with his countrymen, especially in the absence of any personal knowledge on their part.

It is hardly necessary to follow out farther or more closely than this, the various suggested identifications of Kadesh; or to multiply farther the names of those who have had a part in discussing the subject, or in influencing public opinion by a recorded vote in favor of one site or another. Yet the list would not be even fairly complete, without a mention of the noteworthy and remarkable proposal of Dean Stanley, to find the site of Kadesh in the Rock-City, Petra itself.[9] It is quite needless to detail his nominal argument in favor of his suggestion; for it was rather the poetry of the idea than any cold reasoning on the subject that led him to carry the host of Israel directly into the stronghold of Edom and the sacred fortress of Mount Seir. In view of all that he has to say of the matter, the only wonder is that he will concede that the

[1] *Notes* on Numbers, at 20: 14. [2] *Hist. Geog. of Bible*, p. 109.
[3] *Observ. in East*, I., 197. [4] *Sacred Geog. and Antiq.*, p. 253.
[5] *Travels*, II., 60. [6] *Cyclo. of Bib., Theol., Eccles. Lit.*, s. v. "Kadesh."
[7] *Dict. of Relig. Knowl.*, s. v. "Kadesh." [8] *Notes on Joshua*, p. 146.
[9] *Sinai and Pal.*, pp. 92–98.

"present ruins are modern," instead of boldly claiming that the great theatre itself was built expressly for the funeral services on the occasion of the death of Aaron.

9. FAILURES TO RE-FIND ROWLANDS'S SITE.

In addition to the confusion of sites by this suggestion of more than a dozen distinct identifications of Kadesh-barnea, and by the statements and misstatements, in direct conflict, of "authorities" without number,—a new element of confusion and of doubt was introduced by the repeated failures of explorers to find the locality visited and described by Rowlands, even with the help of all the landmarks noted by him. It was not so much to be wondered at that 'Ayn Qadees had been passed by without discovery in all the years before attention was called to it specifically; but it did come to be a cause for wonder that, after its location was fairly described, it was not to be found or heard from again.

As has been already mentioned, the direct route northward from Castle Nakhl to Hebron was taken but rarely by desert travelers. But even when it was taken, now as before, it seemed to throw little or no light on the site which Rowlands uplifted into such pre-eminence. His own report of it was given in a hurried personal letter; and the many questions asked about points not touched in his description were not replied to by him in any formal statement. Hence one and another European or American traveler made the determined attempt to learn more on the subject by personal research; but all to little purpose.

Dr. Stewart, an English clergyman, passing over the mid-desert route, in 1853, somewhat westward of Seetzen's course, pressed his Teeyâhâh guides for information as to the locality described by Rowlands; according to his mistaken understanding of it.[1] There-

[1] *Tent and Khan*, p. 189 *f.*

upon, they coolly informed him that the well in question, which he reports as "Ain el-Khades," was "near the top of the western shoulder of the mountain," Jebel Helâl; and that while "no camels could approach it . . . a man with a water-skin slung on his back, could get at it by climbing with his hands and feet." This "chaffing" of the Arabs, Stewart actually took for solid topographical knowledge, and on the strength of its possession he proceeded to criticise and correct the statements of his more successful fellow-countrymen. "This differs very widely from the glowing description given of it [the mountain-top spring] by the Rev. Mr. Rowlands, in a letter which appears in the appendix of his friend, Mr. Williams', book; though it is probable they can be reconciled by supposing the stream, by which he encamped, to come down from the spring near the summit." And, on the strength of this story from the Arabs, Stewart entered "'Ain Khades," accordingly, on the map accompanying his really valuable book of travels.

Again Dr. William M. Thomson, the veteran and widely-known American missionary, after a quarter of a century's residence in the East, reported[1] of his search within a few miles of the locality pointed out by Rowlands: "I made diligent inquiries about Kadesh; but both our own Arabs and other Bedawîn we met in the neighborhood were either absolutely ignorant of such a place, under any possible pronunciation of the name, or they purposely concealed their knowledge of it." *He* knew enough of the Arabs, however, to understand that seeming ignorance might really be studied concealment; and he indulged in no sneers at the claims of Rowlands to have seen that which a subsequent traveler was unable to re-discover.

Abeken, a German explorer, who was a companion of Lepsius in the latter's expedition to Egypt (1842–1846), made a journey at a later date, along this region; and a "Jebel el-Kudeis" is re-

[1] *South. Pal.* (Land and Book,) p. 200.

ported, as on his authority, in a position corresponding with the "Wadi el-Kdeis" of Seetzen.[1] But this was not the 'Ayn Qadees of Rowlands; and there were even those who would frame an argument against the identification of Kadesh at Qadees, on the strength of this proof of another locality in the same region bearing this correspondent name.

At length, after nearly thirty years from the discovery by Rowlands, Palmer, the English Oriental scholar, who had already made his important explorations of the lower peninsula, and who had evidenced rare ability in influencing and controlling the Arabs, went out for the express purpose of exploring the Negeb and the desert immediately below it.[2] In this undertaking, he had in mind the re-discovery of the site of Kadesh-barnea, as one of the more important results of his researches; and, in the minds of those who believed that Rowlands had correctly reported his discovery, there was little doubt that Palmer would now make this truth clear beyond a question. But even *he* was unable to find any such site as Rowlands had described, or to learn directly about it,[3] and, although he was convinced that in that region was the locality of Kadesh-barnea, and made a convincing argument in its favor, he came at last to believe that Robinson's gratuitous misstatement concerning Rowlands's confounding of Qadayrât and Qadees must have been the truth in the case; and he accordingly put himself on record as supposing that Rowlands "applied the name ['Ain Gadís,' as Palmer writes it] wrongly to 'Ain el Gudeirât,

[1] Abeken's reports seem to have been made through the pages of the Berlin *Monatsbericht der Gesellschaft für Erdkunden;* but I do not find there a record of the journey on which this discovery was reported. The mountain is, however, laid down as by his authority on Kiepert's map in Murray's *Handbook for Syria and Pal.*, and is referred to in *Smith-Hackett Bib. Dic.*, Art. "Kadesh," note at p. 1522.

[2] See his *Des. of Exod.*, II., 283.

[3] On this point I had the personal assurance of Professor Palmer, in a conference with him, on my return from the East, in the spring of 1881. It is also made clear by Besant, in his *Life of Palmer* (p. 101 *f.*).

some miles farther northward."[1] The "three springs, or rather shallow pools, called *themáil* ['cistern-dregs'] by the Arabs," which Palmer thought were the real 'Ayn Qadees, were certainly not the springs described by Rowlands, nor anything like them. As a reason for this failure of Palmer to find the site which Rowlands had discovered, his accompanying shaykh, the wily Sulaymân, afterwards asserted that he had purposely held back the distinguished explorer from a sight of the long-sought wells.[2]

Palmer was followed, in 1874, by President Bartlett, an American scholar, who was equally intent on ascertaining the truth concerning the discovery of Rowlands, and equally unsuccessful. He also had the crafty Shaykh Sulaymân as his escort, who, under the pressure of strong urging, conducted Bartlett to a locality which he said bore the name asked for. It was subsequently proved that the place thus shown to Bartlett was 'Ayn Qasaymeh,[3] one of the two sites named by Rowlands as westward of 'Ayn Qadees. Even at the time, Bartlett was compelled to say of it: "It will be seen that this locality does not conform to Rowlands's specification;" but he was now prepared to believe that Rowlands's "narrative shows looseness of statement, both in description of places and in estimates of distances;"[4] and to declare that "we may at once recognize the description of Mr. Rowlands as somewhat overdrawn, his location confused, and his confidence excessive."[5] Moreover, Bartlett brought a new element of confusion into the discussion by insisting that there was really no such fountain as 'Ayn el-Qadayrât in Wady el-'Ayn; nor indeed a fountain of any sort; that, in fact, the fountain which both Robinson and Palmer, (and a host of commentators and geographers between them,) had declared was mistaken by Rowlands for 'Ayn Qadees did not have an existence, and therefore could never have been misnamed by Rowlands's Greek

[1] *Des. of Exod.*, II., 350.
[2] See Bartlett's *Egypt to Pal.*, p. 359.
[3] As will be shown farther on.
[4] *Egypt to Pal.*, p. 361.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 367.

dragoman, even if Rowlands had had a dragoman, and that dragoman had happened to be a Greek.[1] Bartlett said in defence of this opinion, that neither Palmer nor Robinson, nor indeed Rowlands or any traveler before or after him, claimed to have *seen* this fountain;[2] while *he* had searched the wady thoroughly, and could "speak with some confidence on the subject." In view of all that had gone before, this unexpected result of the researches of so intelligent a traveler as Bartlett, raised anew the perplexing questions: Are there really three distinct fountains in that region: 'Ayn Qadees, 'Ayn Qadayrât, and 'Ayn Qasaymeh? or, are there only two; and if two, which two? or is there indeed but one? And so instead of new light, there seemed only added shadows on the site of Kadesh-barnea through added research.

Three years after this visit of Bartlett to the region in question, another eminent American scholar, the Rev. Dr. Philip Schaff, crossed the desert northward with a party of friends, and vainly attempted to go over this route from Castle Nakhl to Hebron. Of his meeting with the Teeyâhah Arabs at their mid-desert starting-point, he said:[3] "The sheikh, a commanding-looking man, diverted us from our intended route to Beersheba and Hebron (although we were willing to run the risk of danger)."

A year after Dr. Schaff was thus turned aside from his purpose, the Rev. F. W. Holland, of England, already referred to as having no peer in his experience as an explorer of the Sinaitic desert,[4] made his fifth visit to that region, having it as one of the prime objects of his journey to settle the question of the site of Kadesh-barnea. If *he* could not succeed in finding the place so many times vainly hunted for, who could hope to do so? Yet even he

[1] See page 221, *supra*.

[2] He did not refer to Seetzen, who mentions the surroundings of the fountain as if he had seen it (*Reisen*, III., 47); yet even Seetzen does not directly say that he visited the place.

[3] *Through Bible Lands*, p. 202.

[4] See page 77, *supra*.

was induced to return without penetrating to the site described by Rowlands; being deterred by "the disturbed state of the country, owing to constant raids of the Arabs from the east of the 'Arabah; and [by] the excessive drought."[1]

There was certainly little encouragement, in the experience of these travelers, to new endeavor in the same direction. Yet all these failures increased the obvious desirableness of farther and decisive information on the subject, from some clearly independent source. And this was the state of things at the opening of the year 1881.

[1] *Jour. of Trans. of Vict. Inst.*, Vol. XIV., p. 11. See farther, on this point, in Supplemental Note, at p. 321, *infra.*

V.

KADESH-BARNEA:

STORY OF A HUNT FOR IT.

KADESH-BARNEA.

1. ITS ARAB GUARDIANS.

To begin with, it is important to know something of the hindrances to a hunt in the region where the site of Kadesh-barnea must be looked for.

That region is the territory of the Bed'ween; of the men of the desert. The Semitic Bed'ween, although of many diverse tribes, are essentially one people;[1] and in no particular is their race-unity more apparent than in their unvarying recognition of their tribal-diversity. As a people, they are agreed that as tribes they are not agreed. Each tribe, or confederacy of tribes, stands firm as a representative of their common father Ishmael, of whom it was prophesied before his birth: "He will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him."[2] The solidarity of the tribe, and the separateness of the tribes, are facts held with like religious zeal among all the Ishmaelitish Bed'ween. And all are as one, in counting sacredly permanent the "ancient

[1] "The Bedawîn, whose name is the plural of the word Bedawi (man of the desert), although divided into independent tribes, which are often hostile one to another, may be regarded as a single nation, united by a common speech. . . . In every age, the nomads, led by the chiefs of their families (sheikhs) have pitched their tents on every spot from the banks of the Euphrates to those of the Nile, from the shores of the Mediterranean to those of the Persian Gulf." (Pierotti's *Customs and Traditions of Palestine*, p. 200 *f*.)

[2] Gen. 16 : 12.

landmark"[1] which designates the boundary line between the territorial possessions, or roaming places, of tribes which are not as one.

To see one tribe of Bed'ween is to see a specimen of all tribes; but to be with one tribe is, in a peculiar sense, to be apart from all other tribes. You can move at will within the domain of the tribe of which you are, for the time being, a member; but the bounds of that domain you can pass only at your peril. For example, Laborde tells of a rock at the upper end of the Gulf of 'Aqabah on which every Muhammadan throws a stone in passing, in imitation of Abraham who there threw stones at Satan, when the latter would have turned him from the path of duty. "The rock just mentioned," says Laborde, "serves as a line of demarcation between the Bedouin of the peninsula of Sinai, and all the Arabs of the north. The moment we passed this frontier, the protection of our guides was of no use, except in so far as they might assist personally in defending us; and they depended much more upon our guns and pistols for the safety of their dromedaries than upon their own prowess."[2]

A recognition of these immutable facts of Bed'ween life is essential to an understanding of the barriers and limitations to research in the land of the Bed'ween.

The lower peninsula of Sinai is controlled by the Tawarah Bed'ween, including several tribes or clans, associated or confederated under one head shaykh; the Shaykh el-Belâd, or Shaykh of the Territory. Their common tribal name is derived from Tûr, or Toor, a word signifying mountain, and applied to the Sinaitic mountain group. They are sometimes known as Beny et-Toor, Sons of the Mountain; although this designation is given to them by outsiders, they calling themselves by their separate tribal names.[3]

[1] Deut. 19: 14; Prov. 22: 28.

[2] Laborde's *Journey*, p. 95. See, also, Robinson's *Bib. Res.* I., 162.

[3] For descriptions of the Bed'ween of the Peninsula, and their tribal lines, see Thevenot's *Reisen*, pp. 234-237; Shaw's *Travels*, I., 220-257; Burckhardt's *Travels*

The Tawarah are a kindly-disposed and trustworthy people; the most so of all the Arabian Bed'ween. They have more to do with civilized travelers than any of their neighbors; for they are immediately responsible for all the carrying trade—the escort of caravans and the guidance of pilgrims and tourists—between Suez and Sinai, and northward from Sinai to the great Hajj route from Cairo to Mekkeh, which crosses the desert from west to east. Their gentleness and fidelity so attach to them the travelers whom they guide, that almost always they are parted from with regret, and remembered and referred to affectionately.[1]

North of the Tawarah, in the central desert, are the Teeyâhah Bed'ween, comprising several clans, who again have their collective popular name from the region they inhabit—the Desert of Et-Teeh, or Desert of the Wanderings. East of the Teeyâhah, toward the Gulf of 'Aqabah, are the Haywât;[2] and northeast of the Haywât

in Syria, pp. 557–564; his *Beduinen u. Wahaby*, passim; Laborde's *Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée*, pp. 52, 71 *f.*; Rüppell's *Reisen*, chap. 22; Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, I., 63 *f.*, 133–138, 165 *f.*, 186; Ritter's *Geog. of Pal.*, I., 377–413; Palmer's *Des. of Exod.*, II., 293–300.

For other descriptions of the characteristics of the Bed'ween of the East, see Conder's *Tent Work in Pal.*, II., 270–292; *Bedouins of Euphrates*, passim; Merrill's *East of Jordan*, pp. 467–515; McCoan's *Egypt As It Is*, pp. 26–28; Klunzinger's *Upper Egypt*, pp. 248–267; Pierotti's *Customs and Trad. of Pal.*, pp. 200–207; Von Maltzan's *Reisen in Arabien*, I., 193–403.

[1] For illustrations of the characteristics of the Tawarah in contrast with other Bed'ween, and of the tribal jealousies in the matter of convoying travelers, see Burckhardt, Laborde, Robinson, Ritter, and Palmer, as above referred to; also Fazakerley's "Journey," in Walpole's *Travels in the East*, p. 385, 391; Lord Lindsay's *Letters*, II., 163; Stephens's *Incidents*, II., 31; Formby's *Visit to East*, pp. 254–256; Miss Martineau's *Eastern Life*, p. 343; Olin's *Travels*, I., 378; Bartlett's *Forty Days in Desert*, p. 163; Stewart's *Tent and Khan*, p. 12; Wilson's *Lands of Bible*, I., 270 *f.*; Bonar's *Desert of Sinai*, p. 273 *f.*; Caroline Paine's *Tent and Harem*, pp. 252–264; Strauss's *Sinai u. Golgatha*, pp. 113–121; Bartlett's *Egypt to Palestine*, p. 329; Schaff's *Through Bible Lands*, p. 137; Field's *On the Desert*, pp. 223–228.

[2] Dr. Wilson (*Lands of Bible*, I., 265) locates the Haywât, or Heiwât, south of the Teeyâhah, between the Hajj route and Jebel et-Teeh; but Burckhardt, Robinson, Ritter, and Palmer, locate them as above.

are the Hawaytât and the 'Alaween; west and northwest of the Tawarah, toward Suez and Gaza, are the Terâbeen. The three tribes, of the Teeyâhah, the Haywât, and the Terâbeen, are in close alliance, and are even thought by some to be of a common recent stock.[1] Together they outnumber any tribe or confederacy of tribes in the desert. From their central position, the Teeyâhah claim the right to escort, within their borders, all travelers who cross the desert in any direction, including the great Hajj, or annual sacred pilgrimage from Cairo to Mekkeh and back again. The Khedive, in his best estate, has been compelled to pay them liberally for this escort; and if they had been on the desert in the days of Abraham, Kedor-la'omer would have had a lively time trying to cross it without recognizing their claim.

The Teeyâhah are ruder and less trustworthy than the Tawarah. It was pithily said of them by Palmer,[2] that while "the ancient Arabs prided themselves on three things, eloquence, hospitality, and plundering; from the Teyáheh tribe the first two have entirely disappeared, but they are still unrivalled" in the third.

All by themselves, in the mountains bearing their name,[3] north of the region of the Teeyâhah and the Haywât, are the 'Azâzimeh Bed'ween, "one of the poorest and most degraded of Arab tribes" —the most Ishmaelitish of Ishmaelites. According to Palmer's testimony,[4] "they are superstitious, violent, and jealous of intrusion upon their domain, suspecting all strangers of sinister designs upon their lives and property."[5] Of the difficulties in the way of

[1] Burckhardt (*Travels in Syria*, p. 560) speaks of these three tribes, together with the Tawarah, as "all derived from one common stock, the ancient tribe of Beni Attye." Is it possible that he was misled by the term Beny et-Teeh, "Sons of the [Desert of the] Wanderings?" He evidently does not mean "'Ateeyeh."

[2] *Des. of Exod.*, II., 294 *f.* [3] See page 70 *f*, *supra.* [4] *Des. of Exod.*, II., 291 *f.*

[5] Laborde (*Journey*, p. 283, note) calls attention to the fact, that this jealous suspicion of visitors from without, has been, from of old, a characteristic of the tribes bordering on the Holy Land; as illustrated by the warning given by the princes of Ammon to their king against the kindly messengers of David: "Are not his servants

any research into their territory, he adds, out of his own experience: "To examine the country and wrest from them the secrets of its topography and nomenclature, when the use of a prismatic compass exposes you to execration as a sorcerer, and when to ask the simplest question is to proclaim yourself a spy, is, as our own experience has taught us, neither an easy nor an agreeable task."

Not only are the 'Azâzimeh unwilling to make any terms with "Christians"—as they call all Europeans or Americans; but they are watchfully suspicious of their Teeyâheh neighbors, when the latter are escorting travelers along their territory, and they protest against any freedom being allowed to the hated class, in the line of archeological researches.[1]

'Ayn Qadees, the site of Kadesh-barnea, is in the heart of the 'Azâzimeh territory. The 'Azâzimeh themselves will not guide travelers to it; nor will they give consent to the Teeyâhah to do so. Hence, although it is but a little distance east of the direct route from Sinai to Hebron, it has, for generations, been practically inaccessible to travelers. The ordinary Teeyâhah guides could not escort travelers thither: the superstitious 'Azâzimeh would not. And, in this state of things, the Teeyâhah have doubtless been reluctant to admit to travelers that they knew of a place so near their route, while they were unable to go to it. Therefore it is, that there came to be doubts of its very existence, during the nearly forty years in which intelligent and persistent explorers from Europe and America failed either to find it or to gain any information concerning it, as they journeyed in its region, after it was first lighted on in modern times by the adventurous and zealous Mr. Rowlands, of England.

Rowlands, indeed, was peculiarly favored in having Terâbeen guides, from Gaza, as he went in search of the long-sought site.

come unto thee for to search, and to overthrow, and to spy out the land?" (1 Chron. 19: 3).

[1] See, *e. g.*, Palmer's *Des. of Exod.*, II., 370 *f.*; 403, 407 *f.*

The Terâbeen are the only Arabs who seem on good terms with all the other tribes alike. Their immediate territory stretches from below Suez to Gaza. They are in close confederation with the ruder Teeyâhah,[1] in fact they are by some counted as a portion of that tribe. Moreover they are more than friendly to the gentle Tawarah. As Robinson's guide "Tuweileb" said, "Between the Tawarah and the Terâbîn, there is an oath of friendship, to endure 'as long as there is water in the sea, and no hair grows in the palm of the hand.'"[2] And what is still stranger, these kindly-disposed Terâbeen are on excellent terms with the jealous, superstitious, and quarrelsome 'Azâzimeh, "and sometimes pasture within their territory,"[3] even while the 'Azâzimeh and Teeyâhah are at feud with one another. Thus the Terâbeen are in a peculiar sense a resolving element in the disturbing forces of the desert peoples; and it was through their guidance that Rowlands was enabled to reach the jealously-guarded fountain of Qadees within the territory of the 'Azâzimeh. But when he came out from that sacred enclosure, it seemed as if its entrance were not only immediately closed behind him, but actually lost to sight and knowledge. Because the Teeyâhah were commonly excluded from the land of the 'Azâzimeh, it is probable that many of them were really unfamiliar with the name and location of 'Ayn Qadees, while those who did know it were prompt to avert all discussion of the feasibility of a visit to it, by professing ignorance of such a site, or by lying about it, and extemporizing a convenient substitute for it, just as the one plan or another seemed most likely to accomplish the end desired. And

[1] Dr. Schaff (*Through Bible Lands*, p. 202,) tells of warfare between the Teeyâhah, and the Terâbeen and Haywât, at the time of his tour in 1877; but it is more probable that the opponents of the Teeyâhah were the 'Azâzimeh; as is indicated by the fact that his Teeyâhah guides were unwilling to escort him in the direction of the 'Azâzimeh toward Hebron, but were ready to take him among the Terâbeen toward Gaza.

[2] *Bib. Res.*, I., 137.

[3] *Ibid.*, I., 186.

as to the Teråbeen Arabs, no traveler again found them in the willing mood in this matter, in which they were found by Rowlands.

And this raises the question, How is it, then, that a Yankee traveler, on a casual tour, was enabled to overcome all these obstacles, and find his way to a site shielded so jealously, and lied about so vigorously and variously, by successive generations of the typical Ishmaelites who surrounded it? The answer to this question can be made plain only by quite a little story, which is not without its dash of romantic adventure, as well as its gleam of particular providences.

2. A MID-DESERT STARTING POINT.

In mid-desert, at the point where the great Hajj route from Mekkeh crosses the main route from Sinai to Gaza and Hebron, stands the ancient Castle Nakhl,[1] or Castle of the Palm, an Egyptian military station for the protection of pilgrims, and for the guarding of Egyptian interests generally. Reaching that point, all travelers going north or east must change camels and escort, and take a new start in their journeyings; for that is a central landmark of tribal divisions. It is even probable that this has been so from time immemorial, and that here was the "El-Paran which is on the wilderness," the desert oasis, at which Kedor-la'omer halted to make his new start northward when *he* went into Canaan by way of 'Ayn Qadees.[2]

The different offices of a desert-traveler's dragoman, and a desert-traveler's escorting-shaykh, are not so clearly understood by the untraveled reader generally, but that it may be well to say a word of explanation just here. The dragoman, or "interpreter," as that term primarily means,[3] is the man who contracts with you

[1] See page 36 *f.*, *supra;* also "Frontispiece." [2] Gen. 14: 6, 7.

[3] The Arabic word is ترجمان (*tarjamân*). The Chaldaic תִּרְגֵּם (*tergem*) "to interpret" (whence "Targum," "A Paraphrase") is from the same root.

to carry you over the desert, securing for you transportation, shelter, provisions, service, escort; all at a specified round sum per day, or per trip. So far as trouble and expense are concerned, the dragoman is to relieve you of all responsibility. But the dragoman has no direct power over the Arabs of the desert, in one tribe or in another. He cannot give you protection at any point, save as he makes an arrangement for you with the shaykh of each tribe whose domain you may enter. And when a shaykh has agreed with your dragoman for your safe escort through his territory, he commonly accompanies you, himself, on your journey to the limits of his domain; and he always insists that the camels for your transportation shall be hired from his people, or their full hire paid for by you, in case other camels are for any special reason to take their places in crossing his territory. So, it will be seen, that while your dragoman can go with you from the beginning to the end of your desert journey, you must change your escorting-shaykh as often as you come to a new tribal line.

At Castle Nakhl, the northward-bound traveler must part with his kindly-disposed Tawarah guides, and put himself into the hands of the wilder and more unattractive Teeyâhah. Books of desert travel have many times described the noisy scene of arranging at this mid-desert starting-point, with the Teeyâhah shaykhs, for an escort eastward or northward; and each new traveler finds the scene more animated and noteworthy than he had imagined.

Of late years Shaykh Musleh and his brother Sulaymân have been at the head of the mid-desert tribes; and have met and baffled all curious seekers after 'Ayn Qadees. These shaykhs have been well and fully described by travelers; especially by Palmer,[1] and Bartlett.[2]

Shaykh Musleh, the elder of the two, and the Shaykh el-Belad of the Teeyâhah Arabs, is quiet, dogged, shrewd, and strong

[1] *Desert of the Exodus*, II., 328–336. [2] *Egypt to Palestine*, pp. 329–334.

willed. Palmer spoke of him, in 1870, as "an ill-looking, surly ruffian," whose features were on an occasion "rendered more hideous than their wont by a scowl of mingled cunning and distrust." Twelve years later, Palmer put more confidence in this "surly ruffian;" and the tragic followings of this confidence caused a thrill of horror to all the civilized world. It was during the Egyptian-English war of 1882, that Palmer went into the desert as an agent of the English government, with the purpose of detaching from the support of Arâby Pasha the Bed'ween on the east of Egypt. Meeting Musleh accidentally, at the westward of the old shaykh's proper domain,[1] Palmer entered into a conference with him concerning the object of his mission. Musleh, having personal ends to serve,[2] entered into an arrangement with Palmer, after the ordinary Oriental reluctance had been sufficiently exhibited;[3] and from that time it would seem that there was hardly any limit to the promises of assistance which Musleh was ready to make. "With Misleh," at this time, "was Meter abu Sofieh, who was introduced to Palmer as 'the Sheikh of the Lehewats, occupying all the country east of Suez."[4] This claim of place and power for Meter was baseless; yet in consequence of it, Palmer trusted Meter, as he had trusted Musleh, who introduced Meter, and it is "to this unfortunate deception," for which Musleh seems directly responsible, "that the unfortunate termination of the second expedition was principally attributable."[5] Meter guided Palmer; and Palmer and his companions were brutally murdered in the desert while under the guidance of Meter.[6] To suppose that Shaykh Musleh was innocently deluded into the be-

[1] Besant's *Life of Edward H. Palmer*, p. 275. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 271.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 287 *f.* [4] *Ibid.*, p. 275.

[5] Col. Warren's opinion, as cited in Besant's *Life*, p. 275; also Besant's mention (p. 307) of "Meter abu Sofieh, whom he [Palmer] trusted, and who betrayed him."

[6] For the circumstances and details of Palmer's tragic fate, see the admirably written story by Palmer's enthusiastic friend Besant, as above referred to.

lief that Meter was really all that he claimed for himself, and was a competent person to be entrusted, at such a time, with such an undertaking as was assigned to him, is to misconceive both the character and the ability of the wily old Shaykh el-Belad of the Teeyâhah Arabs.

The younger brother of Musleh, Shaykh Sulaymân ibn 'Amir (Solomon, the son of Omar, or of 'Amor[1]), is described as brilliant and dashing, "a slightly-built, dark-complexioned Arab, with a handsome, and even intellectual countenance, and a polish of manner that would have done credit to a courtier." With "a clear eye and a fine black beard,"—a rare possession for a desert Arab,—Sulaymân is "more picturesquely, expensively, and tastefully dressed" than most desert shayks; appearing, in fact, like "an Arab gentleman with a tinge of foppishness." Palmer says of him, in their earlier intercourse[2]: "Being . . . . a painfully polite man, he naturally tried on all occasions to cheat us in a gentleman-like way, and we were obliged to parry his attempts at imposition as gracefully as they were made." And Bartlett adds: "He showed himself to be a man of character and decision by his command over his men, and a man of determination by his attempts to control us."

Both Musleh and Sulaymân have long been familiar with the desire of travelers to find out about 'Ayn Qadees; and they are skilled in dexterous methods of evading its disclosure. Had either of them been in charge of me and my companions from Castle Nakhl northward, I should have been no more successful in my search than the many who had preceded me. It was just here that I had my first advantage, in favoring circumstances.

[1] See Palmer's *Des. of Exod.*, II., 290, 338. In the *Surv. of West. Pal.*, "Name Lists," p. 268, referring to the names 'Amir, 'Amaûrieh, 'Amr, Palmer says: "All these are forms of the Arabic name 'Omar, and are identical with the ethnic name Amorite."

[2] Sulaymân appears again in connection with Palmer's latest visits to the desert. See Besant's *Life*, pp. 262, 270 *f.*, 299, 307 *f.*



OUR SINAITIC SHAYKH.

SHAYKH MOOSA, OF THE TAWARAH BED'WEEN.

3. FAVORING CIRCUMSTANCES AT NAKHL.

It was on Saturday morning, March 26, 1881, that I reached Castle Nakhl, with my two traveling companions, Mr. George H. Wattles, a student of medicine at the University of Pennsylvania, and the Rev. Allan M. Dulles, just from his post-graduate studies at Leipzig. We had come from Cairo, by way of Mount Sinai, under the escort of Shaykh Moosa, the Shaykh el-Belâd of the Tawarah tribes; one of the very finest specimens of the Bed'wy chieftain, dignified, kindly, trustworthy;[1] a man for whom we had acquired sincere respect and hearty esteem.[2]

Shaykh Sulaymân was absent on a plundering tour, making good the reputation of his tribe for its one remaining ancestral trait;[3] perhaps in the country of the 'Anazeh, "who occupy the district around Palmyra, and to the east of the Hauran;" for they are said to be the "hereditary victims" of the Teeyâhah in their annual raids for plunder.[4] This of course put *him* out of the

[1] Caroline Paine, in her *Tent and Harem* (pp. 258–265) describes a visit made by her in 1852, to the home of Shaykh Moosa, not far from Wady Fayrân. She emphasizes "the delicate and polite manner" of his wives, and the courtliness of his personal bearing. "We had an opportunity," she says, "of studying these women long and carefully, and every moment increased the respect and wonder inspired by as true native gentleness, propriety, and courtesy, as ever graced a 'marble hall.'" Referring to the deference shown to the Bed'wy chieftain in his own household, she says: "Sheikh Moosa's appearance certainly entitled him to all the consideration in which he was evidently held by the ladies of his court. He was of a tall, good figure, and his apparent height was increased by a long, narrow, woolen robe, and the large white turban that surmounted his head. His face with tolerably good features, had a refined and manly expression; his deportment was easy, grave, and dignified; and he escorted us with as much suavity as if he had been accustomed to the refinement of civilized life."

[2] See his portrait accompanying.

[3] See page 240, *supra*.

[4] "Once at least in every year the Teyâheh collect in force, often mustering as many as 1,000 guns, and set off on camels for the country of the 'Anazeh, a distance of more than twenty days' journey. Having chosen for their expedition the season

question as our escort. Shaykh Musleh was there; but he was disabled by ill-health. It was, indeed, with difficulty that he had come over the desert to meet us, in response to a messenger sent to him across the country by Shaykh Moosa, as we journeyed toward Nakhl. A ride to Hebron he could not think of. Under ordinary circumstances, he would probably have insisted that we should await his brother's return; but he happened to be in a position to desire our help, and that fact put us on a different footing from travelers generally.

A younger shaykh of the Teeyâhah (Hussân, son of a former shaykh, Moosa, a kinsman of Musleh) had been arrested, with some companions, by the Turkish authorities on a charge of plundering (not of a robbery of which he had been personally guilty, but a robbery by individuals of his tribe or clan, for which, according to Arab ideas of tribal solidarity, he was fairly to be held responsible); and he and his fellows were now prisoners at Jerusalem.[1] With all of the fatherly interest of an old shaykh in his people, and of an Oriental patriarch in those of his own blood, Musleh was intent on the release of the captive Hussân. By no fault of mine, Musleh had obtained from my Egyptian dragoman, and from the Tawarah Shaykh Moosa, an exaggerated idea of my personal influence with those in authority in my own land, and

of the year when the camels are sent out to graze, they seldom fail to come across some large herd feeding at a distance from the camp, and watched by a few attendants only. These they drive off, the *bawârideh*—that is the men who possess guns—forming a guard on either side and in the rear, and the rest leading the beasts. It sometimes, though rarely, happens that they get off clear with their booty before the owners are aware of the invasion, but in many cases they are hotly pursued, and compelled to relinquish their prey, and take to their heels." (Palmer's *Des. of Exod.*, II., 295.) It is the same to-day as it was in the days of the patriarch Job. (See Job 1: 17.)

[1] Dr. William C. Prime, in his *Boat Life in Egypt*, (pp. 97–108), describes graphically a similar arrest of the famous old shaykh of the 'Alaween, Husayn ibn-Egid, so long the dependence and the dread of visitors to Petra; and his imprisonment at Cairo.

with its representatives abroad; and he was exceedingly desirous of my good offices in behalf of Hussân, through the American consulate at Jerusalem.[1]

Taking up the incidental statements of my young companions, concerning my editorship of a periodical which circulated widely in the Bible-studying community in my land, among the very class most likely to make journeys to Sinai and Jerusalem, my enthusiastic dragoman, with true Oriental license and imaginings, had enlarged the story, until, as I afterwards learned (for it was all spoken in Arabic), he had actually reported me as "Director-in-Chief" of all the religious papers—"the sacred press"—of America, and the shaper, so far, of the opinions of American pilgrims. He had moreover given this fact a practical bearing on Bed'wy interests (for an Arab cares nothing for anyone's position and honors except so far as they may affect *his* personal interests), by gravely assuring the shaykhs that if I were well treated on the desert, and were well pleased with the route, I would speak so well of it as to turn by way of Suez and Mount Sinai a large portion of that current of pilgrimage to Jerusalem which now went by way of Alexandria to Jaffa; and so there would be a larger demand than ever for camels, and for Arab escort. This was an argument that even a Bed'wy could appreciate; and pressed as it was by a Muhammadan preacher, whose character and mission inspired Arab confidence, it was not without its weight. Sure I am that I had favors granted me, and was freed from exorbitant demands, at various points along my desert route, quite in contrast with the treatment reported by well-known travelers before and after me. Notably was this the case during my stay at Castle

[1] This burden was still on the mind of old Musleh, when he met Palmer in the desert in July, 1882. Palmer's report of Musleh's promise at that time is: "He says that if I can get three sheikhs out of prison, which I hope to do through Constantinople and our Ambassador, all the Arabs will rise and join me like one man." (Besant's *Life*, p. 271.)

Nakhl, and in my dealings with the shabby old Egyptian governor[1] there, and the cunning Shaykh Musleh. I mention all this as so far explanatory of certain advantages accorded me in my search for the long-hidden wells at 'Ayn Qadees.

Of course Shaykh Musleh was ready to assure me of the groundlessness of the charges against Hussân, and of the certainty of my reward if I should be successful in securing his release. If Hussân were set at liberty, he said, we who had compassed it should be "as kings in the desert," when we came that way again. But if Hussân should be held—and old Musleh's ugly face lowered threateningly as he said it—the desert would not be safe for any traveler. As a proof of his confidence and his generosity, Musleh was even now ready to give me an Arab steed, whose value he said was £300, if only I would promise to make intercession for Hussân. His whole soul was on fire in this matter; and he was too anxious for my help in his need, to deny me any reasonable request in the line of my purpose.

Old Musleh's eyesight was failing him, and his lungs were evidently diseased. Learning that one of my companions was a physician ("a hakeem," as they call it) he asked to be restored to full sight, and to be relieved of his cough. A mild palliative for the cough, and a simple eye wash, gratified him, and tended to increase his willingness to accede to my requests. When I pressed for an early move northward, he made a mild protest, on the score of his inability to go with us, and his brother's absence; but he yielded that point gracefully, since "the king's business required haste,"[2] and the sooner I should reach Jerusalem the better it might be for the captive Hussân. But when I urged the direct northward

[1] This old wretch is described by Dr. Field in his *On the Desert*, pp. 215 *ff.*, 225 *ff.* He was near the scene of Professor Palmer's murder, and was strongly suspected of being privy to it, if not, indeed, directly responsible for it. (See Besant's *Life*, p. 321 *f.*)

[2] 1 Sam. 21: 8.

route to Hebron instead of the westerly one to Gaza, Musleh was more reluctant to yield. The Gaza route lay through the land of the friendly Terâbeen. The route to Hebron passed the fields of the hostile 'Azâzimeh. Musleh insisted that only three families (each traveling party on the desert is called "a family") had passed over the Hebron route in now twelve years, and he magnified its dangers.[1] But just there I was in dead earnest, and when he was convinced of that, he was disinclined to risk my possible help for Hussân, on a point like the choice of available routes. He consented, therefore, to my going by way of Hebron; and here again an advantage was given me.

Shaykh Musleh had brought with him his son Hamdh, a good-natured, over-grown boy of some eighteen years or more, with somewhat of his father's doggedness, but with none of the old man's shrewdness. Ibrâheem, a son of Sulaymân, was also there. He was brighter than Hamdh; a keen-eyed, lithe-bodied youth, showing not a little of his father's alertness of mind and gracefulness of manner. After some discussion, it was agreed that the two young men should go together in charge of our escort to Hebron. Hamdh was to be in command, although he had never before been sent on an expedition of the importance of this, and the route itself was not wholly familiar to him.

In view of Hamdh's youth and inexperience, a skilled and trusty guide was secured, in one Owdy,[2] a shrewd and intelligent Arab, whose home was not far from Nakhl, and who was acquainted with every step of the way to be traversed, and with the needs and dangers of desert travel in the region of the 'Azâzimeh. With all his experience of desert ways, however, Owdy had not been accustomed to lend his services as an escort to travelers; and he seemed to feel

[1] See page 240 *ff.*, *supra.*

[2] I give this name by its sound. I do not know its form in Arabic. Bonar (*Des. of Sinai*, p. 297) mentions an Arab, named "Aaudheh," which may be the same name as this; but I give the phonetic equivalents of the name as I heard it.

it somewhat beneath his dignity, to lead a camel for a "Christian," in a party commanded by boy shaykhs. He was willing that his camel should go; but he was inclined to stay by his fields of springing barley in Wady el-'Areesh and beyond. The pressure brought on him, in this emergency, was much like that which Moses brought on Hobab, when the latter was desired as a guide over this same desert, Hebronward, and gave answer, "I will not go; but I will depart to mine own land, and to my kindred." Then it was that Moses urged: "Leave us not, I pray thee; forasmuch as thou knowest how we are to encamp in the wilderness, and thou mayest be to us instead of eyes."[1] Thus urged, Hobab went: so went Owdy.

When arrangements for the escort were finally agreed on,—including the number and the price of camels, the route to be taken, and the time of starting and the number of days for the journey,—the agreement was formally ratified between the contracting parties, by Shaykh Musleh and my dragoman sitting side by side; their open hands held, with upturned palms, before their faces, as if they were the pages of a book; and reciting together the words of the *Fat'hat*, or first chapter of the Qurân. This formula, with more or less of accompanying salutations and embracings, is pronounced by all Muhammadans on every important occasion.[2] Its invocation is a sacred pledge of fidelity between "believers."

Of course I was cautious about making promises in behalf of Hussân; and of course I refused all reward. I did agree to inquire into the facts, on reaching Jerusalem; and that promise I made good. I found, indeed, on arriving there, that his case was apparently already in good hands; better than mine, for him.[3] Nor did I plan to take any incidental advantage of Shaykh

[1] Num. 10: 29-32.

[2] See notes on this chapter, in *The Koran with Notes*, by George Sale.

[3] Yet the sequel shows (from his continued imprisonment, a year later) that the efforts for his release were futile.

Musleh's expectation of service from me. It was only after the journey was over, and I looked back over its details, that I realized how all these things had combined to give me exceptional opportunities in the line of my research; and I refer to them now by way of accounting for my unexpected success in that line.

4. A MOVE NORTHWARD.

We were to start early on Monday morning, and the agreement was that we should be at Hebron on the Saturday night following. Although Hamdh was nominally the shaykh of the party, (or the "family") for this journey, he was so much younger than myself,—and beardless at that, while I had a patriarchal beard,—that, in accordance with the Oriental custom of giving deference to age, and of honoring the beard, I was called the "father" of "the family," and Hamdh was formally committed to my fatherly care by his original father. Putting the young man's right hand between my two hands, old Musleh took our three hands between his two, and said to me earnestly, in Arabic: "He has been my son. Now he is your son. Be to him a good father." Then he enjoined it upon his burly son to be faithful to me as we journeyed, and to do for me any favor in his power. This injunction proved of important service to me, in the line of my subsequent researches.

Although there were but three of us travelers, the camel train, which should bear us and our attendants, and all our needful tents and stores, formed no insignificant caravan. The dromedaries which we three rode were of a lighter build, and better blood, and hence faster of foot, than the baggage camels which carried the heavier loads.[1] In all, there were about fifteen beasts and as many

[1] There is a popular notion, promoted by the dictionaries, that the difference between a camel and a dromedary is a difference in the humps; the one having one hump and the other two humps. But this is an error. A dromedary bears the same

men. It was our custom to move off ahead of the baggage train in the morning—the three travelers and the dragoman. When we halted at noon for a lunch, we usually rested for an hour and a-half or two hours, in the shade of a light tent which the dragoman had brought, together with a lunch-box, on his camel. Meanwhile the baggage train would come up and pass us, and go on to the night's halting-place—where we would find our tents ready pitched for us on our arrival.

On Monday, March 28, we were off bright and early, being actually on the march soon after seven o'clock: an expeditious start for the first day of a new journey, with all the clamor and wrangling over the apportioning of loads to the camels, which are an essential preliminary to an Arab caravan undertaking. And we made nearly nine and a-half hours of actual travel that day—with quick stepping and a tolerably straight course—in addition to our customary rest at mid-day. This was really a remarkable first day's travel for such a journey; as any Eastern tourist would recognize.[1] It showed that our Teeyâhah guide and escort were in earnest in speeding our journey, as they had promised.

The second day's journey was also a long one, and its late close found us in Wady Jeroor, at a point at least sixty miles distant in an air line from Castle Nakhl; so that we must have made not less than thirty-five miles a day, by the course we had taken. We had passed up along Wady el-'Areesh, and on northeasterly between Naqb Fahâdeh and Jebel Ikhrimm (or Jebel Hareem);[2] had skirted Wady Qarayyeh and Wady Mâyeen, before traversing Wady esh-Sherayf; had seen Jebel 'Arâeef en-Nâqah, the southwestern bulwark of the 'Azâzimeh mountain plateau,[3] looming up

relation to the camel, that a blooded racer does to a pack horse. (On this point, see authorities quoted in Fazerkerly's "Journey," in Walpole's *Travels in the East*, p. 384, also Tischendorf's *Aus dem heiligen Lande*, p. 20, note).

[1] See page 142 *ff.*, *supra*.

[2] See Wilson's *Lands of Bible*, I., 2[illegible]7.

[3] See page 138, *supra*.

at our right, and Jebel Yeleq at our left, as we neared them and then passed them by; and Jebel Helâl stretched along our western horizon, as we turned easterly out of Wady esh-Sherayf, for a convenient camping place in Wady Jeroor.

Jeroor is the Arabic equivalent of the Hebrew Gerar.[1] It was at the city of Gerar, somewhere at the northwest of our present location, that Abraham sojourned, as he journeyed along southward from Hebron; but the domain of Shaykh Abimelech seems to have stretched far out in this direction; and when Isaac's prosperity, in his growing grain fields, excited the envy of Abimelech's people near Gerar, then "Isaac departed thence, and pitched his tent in the valley of Gerar,"—or in Wady Jeroor, as we would call it now-a-days,—"and dwelt there."[2] And now we were near the old camping ground of Isaac, from which he moved again and again, northerly toward Rehoboth and Beersheba.

5. YANKEE CATECHISING.

It was well into the evening, after our dinner was over, that we called our dragoman and the two young shaykhs to the entrance of our dining tent, for a conference over the journey of the day and the plans of the morrow. They sat, or squatted, on the ground before us, in Oriental fashion; and we sat in camp-chairs just above them. It was then and there that for the first time I broached the question of the whereabouts of 'Ayn Qadees.

Being familiar with the views of Rowlands, and Palmer, and Bartlett, I was of the opinion that Bartlett was correct in supposing that he had been shown the real 'Ayn Qadees by Shaykh Sulaymân; and it followed as a matter of course that it must be not far from our present location. On this supposition, I began my inquiries. Finding that Jebel Muwayleh was but a few hours

[1] See page 63 *f.*, *supra.*

[2] Gen. 26 : 6–17.

northward of us, and remembering that both Rowlands and Bartlett had taken that as a starting point of their search, I asked if we could not turn aside from our track beyond Muwayleh, on the morrow, in order that I might visit 'Ayn Qadees. To my surprise, neither my dragoman nor either of the young shaykhs seemed to have any knowledge of such a place. After a little groping for some clue to the locality, I asked that Owdy, our guide, be sent for.

But Owdy, when he appeared, was seemingly more ignorant than the others. As I questioned him about one locality after another, concerning which I could not be in doubt, I became satisfied that his ignorance on every point was too dense for reality, with such an experienced guide as himself. It was quickly obvious that *he* was playing a part—as the others were not; and I quite lost my patience with him. And there, again, I unconsciously gained an advantage; if I had kept my patience, I should have had nothing else to report. Without any deliberate plan in my action, I instinctively took the very course to bring out the truth from an unwilling Arab witness.

A Bed'wy finds it hard to realize the actual value of books—especially of books of travel. He either undervalues them, or he overestimates them.[1] He commonly takes it for granted, to begin with, that you know nothing about his country, if you have not visited it before. But if you show him that you know the truth of a matter about which he has professed ignorance, or lied to you,

[1] Wilson (*Lands of Bible*, I., 264) tells of his discovering a treacherous surface under a circle of ashes near a chalk hill at Beer Rejeem [the "stoned-up well?"] and asking an Arab to step across it—who of course plunged in it over foot. "When he found that he lost his footing in it, and that I was testing him by a practical joke, he immediately cried out, 'Oh, these books of the English gentlemen; they describe every knoll and every pit in our country! The English have no need of guides. They know everything better than we ourselves do.' He innocently thought that we must have had a description of this wreath of ashes in some of our books." Again, Palmer (*Des. of Exod.*, II., 387) tells of his surprising Shaykh Sulaymân by insisting on going a direct road to Beersheba when the latter supposed he could take a cir-

he is quite likely to think that it is useless for him to try to deceive one who has the help of Christian books; and then he is ready to tell you all he knows.[1] Moreover, he is exceedingly sensitive to his reputation of familiarity with his own region of country; for an Arab, like an American Indian, thinks there is no ignorance so culpable as ignorance of the tracks and landmarks of the territory he traverses.

"Oh, well!" I said impatiently, "the trouble is, *you* don't know your country as well as *I* do. We ought to change places. I am giving you bakhsheesh, to show me your country. Now, you give *me* bakhsheesh, and I'll show *you* your country."

I spoke quickly and contemptuously, and the Arabs could catch the spirit of my sneer, even before my words were translated by the surprised and interested dragoman. Nor was he slow in repeating my words in Arabic. The innocent young shaykhs and the cunning Owdy watched me wonderingly, to know just what I meant by all this; and I proceeded to enlighten them.

"To-morrow morning we will go on to 'Ayn Muwayleh. We will go past that. Then we will turn off from the track, to the right. We will go down that way about one hour. There we will find, one, two, three, wells. Beyond them, we will find flags and rushes growing. Then, a little further on, there are more wells. That is Qadees.[2] *You* don't know it; but *I* do. Give me bakhsheesh; and I'll show it to you."

cuitous path without being found out. "Suleiman was . . . astonished that, without having visited the country before, we knew in which direction Beersheba lay. He could not conceive it possible that any 'writing or spy-glasses should tell us *that*.'"

[1] Palmer (*Ibid.*, p. 326) says on this point: "When once an Arab has ceased to regard you with suspicion, you may surprise a piece of information out of him at any moment; and if you repeat it to him a short time afterwards, he forgets in nine cases out of ten that he has himself been your authority, and should the information be incorrect will flatly contradict you and set you right, while if it be authentic he is puzzled at your possessing a knowledge of the facts, and deems it useless to withhold from you anything further."

[2] See Bartlett's *Egypt to Pal.*, p. 359 *f.*

As this little speech was translated to them, the three men looked up at me in blank amazement. Then they looked at the dragoman. Then they looked at each other. After a little, the three talked among themselves in low, earnest tones. Gradually they waxed warmer in discussion. After awhile they turned to the dragoman, and carried on a spirited conversation with him. Then he turned to me.

"Mister Trom-bool," he said, "I tell you now the true; honor-bright. They tell me true now, on the Qurân." He was a Muhammadan preacher, and he had pledged them on their faith. "They know that place you tell them; but they no call it that name. They no call that 'Qadees.'"

"Oh! they do know it, do they?" I asked, as if still in doubt. "And what do *they* call the place?"

"They call that, 'Qasaymeh.'"

At this unexpected response, which I could not but believe was sincere, there flashed into my mind the thought, that the wily Sulaymân had palmed off Qasaymeh as Qadees upon my American predecessor on that route—whose description I had followed; and at once I was on another track.

"But do they know where Qadees is, if they don't think it's *there?*" I asked, as if keeping them still on trial as to their knowledge of their own country.

The two young shaykhs did not know; but Owdy did. He had lived in that region as a boy, and had traversed it far and near. He told the direction of Qadees, and how it could be reached from our present camp. Its distance was "a short day's journey." Then I asked him if he had ever seen 'Ayn Qadayrât. He said that he visited it once, twenty years before. As I questioned farther, he gave me the bearings of the one well from the other, and both again from Qasaymeh. I was morally certain that Owdy was now telling the truth; for he thought I knew a great deal about the country; and he was trying to prove that he knew as much as I did.

By midnight, the tangle was all unraveled. I could see where the three wells were, and how to reach them. But as yet this was only a personal conviction. I had no proof to offer to anyone else. Now came the question. Could I visit the wells, and see them for myself? Owdy said that this was not to be thought of. "Qadees was in the 'Azâzimeh's country. The 'Azâzimeh would rob and murder anyone who came into that region." It was bad enough for the Teeyâhah to go along, as now, on the edge of the 'Azâzimeh's territory. To venture directly into the enemy's country was an impossibility. I must make the most of knowing where the wells were, without the hope of seeing them. And with that for my comfort, our conference broke up for the night.

6. A RESTLESS NIGHT.

That was a restless night for me. My thoughts were too busy for sleep. The solution of a geographical mystery was almost within my grasp. How could I let it slip? No one from abroad had yet visited the three wells in question. It had even been doubted that there were three. Qadayrât, no traveler had seen. Qadees had been seen by only one, in many centuries; and his visit there was forty years ago. Qasaymeh had at one time passed by its own name; and again it had done duty for each of the other two wells. If only I could now visit the three, and note their peculiarities and relative bearing, what a service I might render to the cause of biblical research! Had I any right to lose such as opportunity as this, on the score of its possible dangers?

And what, after all, were the real dangers of the desired search? My three years of varied experience in active campaigning, during our American civil war, had taught me that the actual perils of scouting in an enemy's country were often far less than the imaginary ones; and I was sure that now our timid young shaykhs, and perhaps the reluctant guide also, were seeing more dangers ahead,

on the suggested trip, than we should ever meet if we made the venture. Moreover, my observation of the desert Bed'ween thus far had not much impressed me with a sense of their formidableness. I had noticed that the only firearm of the average Bed'wy was a long-barreled, smooth-bore, flint-lock musket; not infrequently minus the lock: and I had never yet seen an Arab hit anything that he fired at. Yet every Arab seemed to think his enemy's armament a great deal more to be dreaded than his own. In fact, desert hostilities, so far as I had seen them, or had learned of them from the Arabs themselves, looked to me very much like Chinese warfare: each side trying to frighten his enemy away from a fight —and succeeding. The risk of bloodshed in such a move as I was pressing, seemed hardly worth considering. And as to robbery, what was that in such a hunt as this?

By daylight, my mind was clear; and I was up and over at our dragoman's tent, determined to compass a visit to those three wells —whether it were possible or not.

7. HELP FROM A NOTABLE DRAGOMAN.

Our dragoman, Muhammad Ahmad Hedayah,[1] was a character; too much of a character to be let pass without fuller notice. He was an Alexandrian; a native Egyptian, of Moorish stock. He had been a dragoman for a quarter of a century; but was still in the prime of life. He had amassed a handsome property, and was the owner of five or six substantial buildings in the European quarter of his city; all of which have since been swept away, in the destruction of that quarter by Arâby Pasha. He was also a merchant of some prominence; but he kept on at his old business as dragoman from a veritable love of it. He enjoyed being on the desert, or up the Nile, or in the Holy Land; he had special pride

[1] This surname is the Arabic name for the "black hawk" (*milvus ater.*)



OUR DRAGOMAN.

in accompanying travelers who were already well known, or who would help him to become so; for he cared more for reputation than for money. He had been the dragoman of Canon Farrar, and of Lady Elizabeth Cartwright, and of Colonel Colin Campbell, of Great Britain; and of General McClellan, and of the Rev. Dr. Charles S. Robinson, and of Professor Charles M. Mead, of the United States. *He* knew the value of books, and the possible gain to himself from his mention in a book. It was, indeed, one of his boasts that he figured in a book by Mr. Charles Dudley Warner; figured, too, to very good advantage. He also treasured a magazine in which he was mentioned approvingly by Canon Farrar; and he more than once asked me to write a book, and "put him in it."

Mr. Warner's descriptive sketch of this dragoman cannot, in fact, be improved on, for vividness and accuracy. "Achmed was a character. He had the pure Arab physiognomy, the vivacity of an Italian, the restlessness of an American, the courtesy of the most polished Oriental, and a unique use of the English tongue. Copious in speech, at times flighty in manner, gravely humorous, and more sharp-witted than the 'cutest' Yankee, he was an exceedingly experienced and skilful dragoman, and perfectly honest to his employers. Achmed was clad in baggy trousers, a silk scarf about his waist, short open jacket, and wore his tarboosh on the back of his sloping head.[1] He had a habit of throwing back his head and half closing his wandering, restless black eyes in speaking, and his gestures and attitude might have been called theatrical but for a certain simple sincerity; yet any extravagance of speech or action was always saved from an appearance of absurdity by a humorous twinkle in his eyes."[2] Ahmad was brought to Mr. Warner's notice by his "unselfish zeal" in behalf of the latter's dragoman, Abd el-Attee, who was maliciously arrested and locked

[1] See his portrait, accompanying.

[2] Warner's *In the Levant*, p. 220.

up by Turkish officials in Bayroot. Ahmad's "quick generosity," his "enthusiasm," his rapid swaying from hope to despondency as his surroundings changed, are admirably illustrated in Mr. Warner's story of him.

Knowing his vulnerable side, as I came to him in his tent that morning, I approached it directly. I told him that no traveler had visited 'Ayn Qadees in forty years; and that none had ever visited 'Ayn Qadayrât. If he would help me to get there now, I would write a book about it, and "put him in my book." That touched him. "Write it, 'Muhammad Ahmad Effendi[1] Hedayah, 8 Silk Bazar, Alexandria,'" he said promptly; and he repeated the "8 Silk Bazar." Then he asked me on what terms he might bargain with the young shaykhs and their followers. I told him I would leave that wholly with himself. Any bargain he should make, I would ratify; for I knew I could trust him implicitly. He was thoroughly enlisted, and told me he would soon have it arranged.

But the dragoman found it no easy task to bring the young shaykhs and Owdy to his view of the case. *They* had no desire to figure in a book; nor was a venture into the 'Azâzimeh country attractive to their unromantic imaginings. Had it not been for the dragoman's influence as a Muhammadan leader, and his enthusiasm in pressing his point for his own sake, their consent would never have been secured. Even when Owdy and Ibrâheem were won over, Hamdh continued childishly obstinate. At Nakhl we had wanted to reach Hebron by Saturday night, he said; and his father had directed him to press on accordingly with all possible speed. If *we* had now changed our mind, that was no reason why he should change his. A bargain was a bargain. He would stand by his original agreement; and not budge from it. The

[1] His ability to write, and his social standing, justified him in the use of the appellative "Effendi."

proffer to him of bakhsheesh seemed in itself of no weight. Obstinacy and prejudice were stronger than cupidity. Then the dragoman pressed on Hamdh the injunction of his father to do everything in his power to favor and gratify me on this trip. If the old shaykhs had been along, we could never have deviated from our Hebron path; but tact, persistency and determination finally overbore the young man; and the details of a new bargain were entered on.

As to taking the entire caravan into the 'Azâzimeh country, that was not to be thought of. The camel train must wait where it was, or move slowly up the road, while the dromedaries and their riders went off on this expedition. But with the Arab idea of a share for all in any good fortune, every man of the caravan must receive his portion of bakhsheesh, whether he went or stayed. Extra payment must then be made to those who were on the expedition; and finally I must bind myself to release the Arabs from all responsibility for their contract to be at Hebron within the time originally specified; and must promise, moreover, to make good any loss to them from 'Azâzimeh plundering. All this I agreed to; and the new contract was concluded.

8. OFF FROM THE MAIN TRACK.

It was yet only 7.25 in the morning (of Wednesday, March 30) when our party was fairly off on its way eastward; from our camping-place in Wady Jeroor. Besides ourselves—the three travelers—there were the dragoman, the two young shaykhs, the guide Owdy, and a sooty Abyssinian slave of Shaykh Musleh (eight persons), with four dromedaries, in the party. The remainder of the caravan was put in charge of our "waiter," Muhammad, an intelligent and enterprising Egyptian, who was of the Prince of Wales's escort in the Holy Land in 1862. His orders were to make a short day's journey northward, and there await our return.

Moving briskly eastward for about two hours and a quarter, we crossed Wadies Sâsab, Sa'eedeh and Samrah; all three wadies running southerly, the latter curving toward the west. Well-defined camel tracks traversed them. As yet we had crossed no hills, the wadies being separated only by gravelly ridges; but we had skirted the southern face of a mountain range which included a single prominent peak of peculiar formation, like a series of bright colored terraces around a conical trunk (with a suggestion of the step-pyramid of Saqqarah [1]), resembling the central peak in Palmer's sketch of the "Wilderness of Kadesh,"[2] and perhaps being the "Jebel Aneigeh," of his map; possibly his "Jebel Meraifig:" on this point I cannot be sure.

Passing along the border of a fourth wady—Wâjat—also trending southerly—we approached a low range of hills running northwest and southeast. Inclining a little to the north of east, and then again eastward, we rose that hill range, and an extensive plain, or wady, stretched before us from its eastward base. The range was Jebel Hawwâdeh. The plain was Wady Qadees. It was with a thrill of delight that we caught our first view of the great sanctuary camping-ground of the Hebrews; and we were quite too full of the excitement of successful pursuit, to have a thought of special danger, as, at 10.30, we descended the hill side into the wady beyond, after three hours quick riding from our morning camp. This Jebel Hawwâdeh was a new name to me. When I told of it to Professor Palmer, on my return to London, he knew nothing of such a mountain; but he gave me its meaning as "Mountain of the Cisterns."[3]

[1] See Ebers's *Picturesque Egypt*, I., 155.

[2] This sketch, by Tyrwhitt Drake, faces page 349 of the second volume of Palmer's *Desert of the Exodus*. Although it is called "The Wilderness of Kadesh," I am satisfied, from my conversation with Professor Palmer, that it is a point westward of Wady Qadees.

[3] Jebel el-Hawwâdeh (حواضة), The Mountain of the Cisterns, or Reservoirs.

9. DESERT DANGERS.

When fairly down in Wady Qadees we were for the first time out of sight of all familiar landmarks. We were in a new region; we were away from the accustomed track of the Teeyâhah; we were in the stronghold of the 'Azâzimeh. With our smaller party, the silence and solitariness of the desert seemed even greater than usual. Our Arabs recognized this. They grew uneasy. Young Hamdh began to question whether after all he had done wisely, in this departure from the plans of his father and the traditions of his people.

Having dismounted from my camel and turned aside to examine some fragments of old building stones which had caught my eye, I returned to the party just in season to stay Hamdh and his followers from turning squarely about and hurrying back to the caravan, in much such a panic as that which possessed the Israelites of old in this same wady, when they counted themselves as grasshoppers in comparison with the 'Azâzimeh giants of their day, and their cry was: "Wherefore hath the Lord brought us unto this land, to fall by the sword . . . Let us return."[1] There was need of all my energy and positiveness in their most determined expression, to reassure the timid Arabs, and to start them forward again on their journey.

Nor, under the circumstances, were these fears of our Bed'ween entirely without reason. In venturing upon the territory of the 'Azâzimeh without their consent, we rendered ourselves liable to the confiscation of all our possessions. This would not be robbery, as the Arabs view it; but simply tax-collecting. "By desert law, the act of passing through the desert entails forfeiture of goods to whoever can seize them."[2] "The desert is ours, and every man

[1] Num. 13: 29–33; 14: 1–4.

[2] *Bedouins of Euphrates*, p. 391.

who passes over it must pay us tribute,"[1] is the Arab claim. Nor is this a law of the desert alone. "Of whom do the kings of the earth take custom or tribute? of their own children, or of strangers?" "Of strangers."[2]

Theft among brethren (and all who are of one tribe, including those who are its guests, are Arab brethren[3]) is rarer in the Sinaitic desert than among the best of civilized communities. "The strict honesty of the Bedawîn among themselves," says Dr. Robinson,[4] "is proverbial; however little regard they may have to the rights of property in others. If an Arab's camel dies on the road, and he cannot remove the load, he only draws a circle in the sand round about, and leaves it. In this way it will remain safe and untouched for months." One of the Arabs in our party over the desert dropped his pouch of corn. Discovering its loss some time after, he proposed to turn back and find it. As we had meantime passed Arabs going in the other direction, I suggested that they might have picked up the corn and taken it for their own use. At this I was told that I did not understand Arab ways. "*That* would not be posssible among the Bed'ween." Burckhardt tells[5] of being pointed to a cliff not far from Wady Gharandel, from which a Bed'wy "of the Arabs of Tôr precipitated his son, bound hands and feet, because he had stolen corn out of a magazine belonging to a friend of the family." And Burckhardt adds, of the Arabs of the great northeastern desert of Arabia, that "the Aneze Bedouins are not so severe in such instances; but they would punish a Bedouin who should pilfer anything from his guest's baggage." "It is true," says Palmer,[6] "that, in the case of a strange or hostile tribe, or of an unauthorized intruder upon their own particular territory, their ideas of the rights of property do not accord with our own; but amongst themselves, or towards those who have

[1] Stephens's *Incidents of Travel*, I., 203.
[2] Matt. 17 : 25, 26.
[3] See page 237 f., *supra*.
[4] *Bib. Res.*, I., 142.
[5] *Travels in Syria*, p. 475 *f.*
[6] *Des. of Exod.*, I., 79 *f.*

entrusted themselves to their guardianship, their honesty and faith is unimpeachable; while, thanks to the terrible rigor of the 'Vendetta,' or blood-feud, homicide is far rarer in the desert than in civilized lands."

But stealing from one's own people is one thing; while levying tribute on strangers, or making reprisals from enemies, is a very different thing, as the Arab views it. Every Bed'wy is an authorized tax-collector when he meets a stranger within the limits of his tribe; and again he feels called to speak and act for his tribe when he meets an enemy of his tribe anywhere. But this is not lawlessness. As Burton expresses it[1]: "The true Bedouin style of plundering, with its numerous niceties of honor and gentlemanly manners, gives the robber a consciousness of moral rectitude." Or, as Warburton says of these lawfully-lawless people:[2] "Though they will risk their lives to steal [conscientiously], they will never contravene the wild rule of the desert."

It was in this light, therefore, that our situation in Wady Qadees must be looked at, if we would view it fairly. By our contract with Shaykh Musleh, the whole Teeyâhah tribe was pledged to our protection until we were safe at Hebron; and here we were provoking a conflict with the 'Azâzimeh, who were at enmity with the Teeyâhah. Our pledge to acquit our escort of all blame in case of loss or harm to us, could not relieve the young shaykhs of a sense of responsibility for our safety while we were in the care of their tribe. For their own sakes, as well as for ours, they dreaded an encounter with the jealous and quarrelsome 'Azâzimeh, which might re-open a blood-feud between the tribes, or, at the best, subject the Teeyâhah to the charge of a breach of the laws of hospitality in allowing travelers under their guidance to be robbed or harmed.

Our dragoman understood the case on both sides. He appre-

[1] *A Pilgrimage*, I. 334. [2] *Crescent and Cross*, I. 118.

ciated the fears of the Teeyâhah, and he also recognized our willingness to waive all claim on them for the time being. His aim was, therefore, to see that in case of a meeting with the 'Azâzimeh, there should be nothing, at the worst, beyond robbery —or tax-collecting. His counsel to us was, to attempt no resistance in such a case. "If they ask for your coat, give it them; and so give them everything," he said. And this put a new meaning into the words of the Oriental Book of books, concerning non-resistance while on a peaceful mission: "Him that taketh away thy cloak forbid not to take thy coat also. Give to every man that asketh of thee; and of him that taketh away thy goods, ask them not again."[1] To have resisted the 'Azâzimeh by force, had we met them that day, would have been not brave, but brutal. It would have been the smugglers' resistance of the excise officers, rather than the travelers' defense against waylaying robbers.

Moreover, apart from the tax-collecting from intruding strangers, there is more or less danger of a bloody encounter when Arabs of one tribe invade the territory of another, especially when, as in the case of the Teeyâhah and the 'Azâzimeh at this time, there is ill-feeling between the tribes. The experiences of such men as Palmer, and Conder, and Holland, show that the idea of danger from hostile Arabs is not wholly an imaginary one. Palmer tells of his laughing, on one occasion, over Sulaymân's "real or assumed terrors" at the thought of venturing into an enemy's territory not very far north of this; and afterwards finding that "Suleiman's fears had not been unfounded," when he went on under pressure, against his judgment and protest. "Had we met any of the hostile party," says Palmer, in recording the visit, "these notes would in all probability never have been written."[2] Conder, as he approached this region from the north, in the spring of 1877, said:[3] "News of a serious fight near Beer-

[1] Luke 6: 29, 30. [2] *Des. of Exod.*, II., 392. [3] *Tent Work in Pal.*, II., 172.

sheba, in which seven hundred Arabs were killed and wounded, [the number of casualties was probably an Arab estimate] determined us to set our faces northwards" for the time being. Holland, as has been already mentioned,[1] felt that it was quite unsafe for him to venture into this region, in 1878, in view of the hostilities then in progress between the Arabs. And since my own visit there, Mr. Edward L. Wilson, of Philadelphia, having with him my old dragoman, and also the escort of a Terâbeen Shaykh, was quite unable to enter the 'Azâzimeh region near Beersheba, being driven off with violence. In fact my later judgment is, that the young shaykhs had a truer estimate of the dangers of our undertaking, than we whom they accompanied. But, danger or no danger, we pushed ahead!

10. TRACES OF OLD-TIME OCCUPANCY.

Wady Qadees is an extensive, hill-encircled, irregular-surfaced plain, several miles wide, and said by Owdy to be a short day's journey long from west to east, or from north of west to south of east. It is certainly large enough to have furnished a camping-ground for Kedor-la'omer's army, or for all the host of Israel. East of it is Jebel Qadees. At its southeast is Jebel Mu'arrb, or Muarib. Southerly and southwesterly is Jebel Hawwâdeh. Northerly is Ras Fasuah, or Fasooah. Northwesterly is Jebel Mawweeqa, or Miawaykah. Or, I should say, these are the names given me by our Arabs, as I understood them by sound. I report them for what they may prove to be worth to subsequent travelers as landmarks of the region. The same may be said of several of the wadies we had crossed. Of the mountains, only Jebel Qadees was already noted on any map; and that inaccurately.

Along the middle of Wady Qadees, is an extensive water bed,

[1] See page 233 *f*, *supra*.

of unusual fertility for the desert. Rich fields of wheat and barley covered a large portion of this. From its being still moist after the winter rain-flow, it was evident that the seed of the now growing grain had been sown while the water covered the ground: bread cast upon the waters, to be found after many days.[1] There were artificial ridges to retain and utilize the rain-fall, for irrigation. We saw one large grain-magazine dug into the ground, with a mound heaped above it, somewhat after the fashion of the Egyptian granaries shown in the tomb picture-galleries of the Pharaohs.[2] The lintel of the doorway of this granary was a large tree trunk—larger than we should look for in the desert now-a-days.

Again we came to an uncovered pit or dry cistern, ten or twelve feet in diameter, and some six feet or more deep, walled up inside with stone, or stoned-up, to the surface level, and above this banked around with earth. At the bottom of this pit were remains of a fire. It was unlike either a grain-magazine or an ordinary Arab cistern. Our Arabs said it was a memorial of a war between tribes; whatever they may have meant by that. When I made these notes of this cistern and the granary, I did not know that Jebel Hawwâdeh meant the "Mountains of the Cisterns, or Reservoirs;" nor did Professor Palmer know of their existence when he gave me the meaning of that name.

Along the rolling foot-hills of the ranges northward, we found cairns and circles of stone, which could hardly be other than remains of dwellings of a pre-historic age. Soon after entering the wady, we found a section of a marble column-shaft of a later date, yet evidently ancient. It was three feet long by nine and a-half inches in diameter, and had been finished with fluted rings, similar to the columns found by Palmer at El-'Aujeh, not far north of this; "surrounded with rings which give them the appearance of

[1] Eccles. 11: 1.

[2] See Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, I., 371.

having been turned."[1] Not far from it was a square-edged, hammered marble-block, which might have been the base of such a column-shaft.

As we moved eastward, we found many lines of low stone walls cropping above the surface like retaining-walls of an embankment, or like low dams, such as Robinson[2] and Palmer[3] have described as the boundaries of *Mazayri'ât*, or "little plantations" of the olden time. In many places, the hillside had been terraced for cultivation; and again there were scattered stones in great numbers, which seemed to have been once used for building purposes. In fact, there were signs on every hand of a large population there in former times; and of possibilities of provision for it.

11. HOPE DEFERRED.

About 12 o'clock, an hour and a-half after descending the slope of Jebel Hawwâdeh, we came to a ridge, or series of rolling gravel hills, which seemed to bound the fertile portion of the wady. There now stretched before us a rough, stone-covered plain, more like the ordinary desert-waste, but still called Wady Qadees.

The heat of the sun at mid-day was intense. Our Arabs had not provided themselves with water for the journey, and with their wonted freedom and improvidence they had drunk copiously from our dragoman's one leather bottle (not a large water-skin, but a small "zemzemieh"), and as that had sprung a leak on the way, it was now empty. All signs of water were being left behind us.

[1] *Des. of Exod.*, II., 369.

[2] It was of a short distance northwest of Wady Qadees, that Robinson wrote: "Across the whole tract the remains of long ranges of low stone walls were visible, which probably once served as the division of cultivated fields. The Arabs call them el-Muzeiri'ât, 'little plantations.' We afterwards saw many such walls, which obviously were not constructed by the present race of Arab inhabitants; but must be referred back to an earlier period." (*Bib. Res.*, I., 190 *f.*)

[3] See *Des. of Exod.*, II., 347.

In our front, beyond the plain we were traversing, glared the dazzling chalk hills, without any apparent opening for a possible water-course. As we were all the time moving farther away from our caravan route, and deeper into the enemy's territory, with the face of the country increasing in desolateness, matters assumed a very serious aspect.

Again and again, in answer to our questions, Owdy insisted that we were "just coming to the wells;" but at length, in spite of myself, I began to share the anxiety of the young shaykhs, and to question in my mind whether after all Owdy knew the region as well as he professed to, and was really guiding us faithfully.

At all events, if *this* were the Wilderness of Kadesh, into which the whole congregation of Israel was re-gathered at the close of its period of wanderings, I could no longer wonder that "the people chode with Moses," saying, "Why have ye brought up the congregation of the Lord into this wilderness, that we and our cattle should die there? . . . It is no place of seed, or of figs, or of vines, or of pomegranates; neither is there any water to drink."[1] That was my idea of it, just then.

13. THE LOST SITE RE-FOUND.

But we kept up, and kept on; and at 1.30, after nearly three hours of moving in the wady, we suddenly turned sharply to the right, at a scarcely noticed angle of the low limestone hill-range we had been approaching; and almost immediately, the long-sought wells of Qadees were before our eyes.

It was a marvelous sight! Out from the barren and desolate stretch of the burning desert-waste, we had come with magical suddenness into an oasis of verdure and beauty, unlooked for and hardly conceivable in such a region. A carpet of grass covered the ground. Fig trees, laden with fruit nearly ripe enough for

[1] Num. 20: 1-5.

eating, were along the shelter of the southern hillside. Shrubs and flowers showed themselves in variety and profusion. Running water gurgled under the waving grass. We had seen nothing like it since leaving Wady Fayrân; nor was it equalled in loveliness of scene by any single bit of landscape, of like extent, even there.

Standing out from the earth-covered limestone hills at the northeastern sweep of this picturesque recess, was to be seen the "large single mass, or a small hill, of solid rock,"[1] which Rowlands looked at as the cliff (*Sel'a*) smitten by Moses, to cause it to "give forth his water,"[2] when its flowing stream had been exhausted. From underneath this ragged spur of the northeasterly mountain range, issued the now abundant stream.

A circular well, stoned-up from the bottom with time-worn limestone blocks, was the first receptacle of the water. A marble watering trough was near this well—better finished than the troughs at Beersheba, but of like primitive workmanship. The mouth of this well was only about three feet in diameter, and the water came to within three or four feet of the top. A little distance westerly from this well, and down the slope, was a second well, stoned-up much like the first, but of greater diameter; and here again was a marble watering trough. A basin or pool of water larger than either of the wells, but not stoned-up like them, was seemingly the principal watering place. It was a short distance southwesterly from the second well, and it looked as if it and the two wells might be supplied from the same subterranean source—the springs under the Rock. Around the margin of this pool, as also around the stoned wells, camel and goat dung—as if of flocks and herds for centuries—was trodden down and commingled with the limestone dust so as to form a solid plaster-bed. Another and yet larger pool, lower down the slope, was supplied

[1] Williams's *Holy City*, p. 490 *f*.

[2] Num. 20: 8.

with water by a stream which rippled and cascaded along its narrow bed from the upper pool; and yet beyond this, westward, the water gurgled away under the grass, as we had met it when we came in, and finally lost itself in the parching wady from which this oasis opened.[1] The water itself was remarkably pure and sweet; unequalled by any we had found after leaving the Nile.

There was a New England look to this oasis, especially in the flowers and grass and weeds; quite unlike anything we had seen in the peninsula of Sinai. Bees were humming there, and birds were flitting from tree to tree. Enormous ant hills made of green grass-seed, instead of sand, were numerous. As we came into the wady we had started up a rabbit, and had seen larks and quails. It was, in fact, hard to realize that we were in the desert, or even near it. The delicious repose of the spot, after our journey over the arid gravel-waste under the blazing mid-day sun, was most refreshing. The water itself was hardly less of a blessing to us, than to the Israelites when it flowed and murmured anew for them after their murmurings. We seated ourselves in the delightful shade of one of the hills not far from the wells, and enjoyed our lunch, with the music of brook and bees and birds sounding pleasantly in our ears. Our Arabs seemed to feel the soothing influences of the place; and to have lost all fear of the 'Azâzimeh, even when the danger from them was probably greatest. After a brief rest on the grass, they all stripped, and plunged into the lower and larger pool for a bath.

One thing was sure: all that Rowlands had said of this oasis was abundantly justified by the facts. His enthusiasm and his active imagination had not colored in the slightest his picture of the scene now before us. The sneers which other travelers had in-

[1] In writing up this description from my hurried notes made on the spot, I find room for question at one or two points, as to the distance and bearings of the several wells and pools one from another, but I give the facts at these points, as accurately as I can recall them.

dulged in, over the creation of his heated fancies, were the result of their own lack of knowledge—and charity. And as to the name of the oasis, about which Robinson and others were so incredulous, it is Qadees (قديس), as it was written for me in Arabic by my intelligent Arab dragoman, a similar name to that of Jerusalem, El-Quds, the Holy; the equivalent of the Hebrew Kadesh.

13. A BLOODLESS ENCOUNTER.

After a rest of a little more than an hour in this tempting fairy-land retreat, we half-reluctantly made preparations for a new start in our explorings. As our dragoman attempted to mount his dromedary, the restive animal sprang up and shot off by himself, as if the 'Azâzimeh were after him, scattering the crockery of the lunch-basket right and left as he went. It was with some difficulty that the dromedary was re-captured; and then the good-natured dragoman consoled himself for his broken dishes, by the thought of the wonder they would occasion the 'Azâzimeh who were next at the wells. They may have already constructed a new theory of evolution, on the strength of them.

It was about 3 o'clock that we moved out into the open wady westward, on our way to find 'Ayn el-Qadayrât—the well which so many have supposed Rowlands mistook for 'Ayn Qadees. After moving westward about twenty minutes, we diverged to the right from our incoming route, and bore to the north of west. Going on in that direction nearly forty minutes, we turned sharply to the north, and began the ascent of a mountain which confronted us.

This was about 4 o'clock in the afternoon. Hardly had we begun this ascent, before the quick eye of Owdy caught the far-off sight of a caravan coming over the lofty pass toward which we were making. "Jemel!" (camel!) "'Azâzimeh!" were words quickly passed from mouth to mouth of our Arabs; and all the

old fears of Hamdh and his followers were back again in full force. Looking up the mountain side, I could see no sign of life there. I thought there must be a mistake. But no, Owdy's eyes had not deceived him. It was soon evident to us all, that a camel-train more extensive than ours was approaching us; although the camels as yet seemed no larger than dogs, and my first impression was that they could only be goats.

Our Arabs wore anxious faces. They asked us to keep close together, as we moved forward to the encounter. Cheering words were in order, to keep their spirits up; and these we gave freely; for we could not share all the fears of our escort. Gradually the two trains neared each other. In the train approaching us, were fifteen camels, including two young ones; also quite a number of goats. There were eight 'Azâzimeh men; just our number; and about the same number of women and children. But some of the men were old, and the party as a whole was more encumbered than ours; and it had more to lose. Its men were evidently not inclined to provoke a fight. It even looked very much as if they were more afraid of our Arabs, than our Arabs were of them—if, indeed, that were possible. No blood was shed; not a blow was struck; there was no robbery. The 'Azâzimeh and the Teeyâheh held their breaths, as they passed each other on the mountain side, and it was evident that both parties were greatly relieved when they were fairly out of one another's sight.

The lofty mountain-pass before us was said to be Naqb Hâwy, apparently the same name as that of the well-known pass west of the plain of Er-Râhah before Mount Sinai: Pass of the Winds, or Sky Pass. The fact that this is the direct route northward out of Wady Qadees effectually puts at rest the objection, so vehemently and often urged against the identification of this site with Kadesh-barnea, that there is no mountain ascent from it toward Hebron. Robinson said emphatically on this point, as against Rowlands's identification: "There is no mountain near by, by which the spies

could ascend into Palestine; nor by which the people could go up to Arad, where they were discomfited."[1] And, as has been already shown,[2] a host of later writers, as unfamiliar as Robinson with the real facts in the case, have followed in reiteration of this error. In truth, there could not be a closer correspondence than here with the inspired record, as to the way out of Kadesh northward. "Get you up this way Southward [or, Negebward]," said Moses to the spies, at Kadesh, "and go up into the mountain."[3] "So they went up," as we were now going up, along that mountain pass. "They ascended by the South [by way of the Negeb], and came unto Hebron."[4] And so again, the rebellious people, smarting under their sentence of forty years wandering, as they lay in their camp at Kadesh-barnea, "presumed to go up unto the hill top" without the Divine guidance; "and they rose up early in the morning, and gat them up into the top of the mountain, saying, Lo, we be here, and will go up unto the place [the land] which the Lord hath promised."[5] And it must have been up just such a mountain way as this, that they went from the wady below—the Wady Qadees.

14. A PLACE OF PILGRIMAGE.

We were nearly an hour clambering this mountain. Passing the naqb, we came to a slowly descending slope, called by Owdy, Wady Umm 'A'sheen. On the rocks, along the sides of the roadway here, were numerous inscriptions in a character similar to those in Wady el-Mukatteb, or "Wady of the Writings," in the neighborhood of Mount Serbal. Inscriptions in this character are always noteworthy, in view of the fact that whatever may be thought as to their date they are quite generally supposed to indicate, by their presence, a place of ancient pilgrimages. They were

[1] *Bib. Res.*, II., 194, note. [2] See pages 221–229, *supra*.
[3] Num. 13: 17. [4] Num. 13: 22. [5] Num. 14: 40, 44.

certainly spoken of as ancient, as early as A. D. 535;[1] and it is even thought that they were referred to by Diodorus Siculus, just before the Christian era.[2] Their date has been estimated variously, all the way from the period of the Hebrew exodus to the fourth Christian century.[3] It is a question whether their writers were chiefly Christians, Jews, or Pagans; although it would seem that all three classes were represented among them. What sacred place may have been here on this mountain top? Is it, possibly, the grave of Miriam? She died at Kadesh, "and was buried there."[4] And Josephus affirms, as showing the accepted tradition in his day: "They bury her publicly at great expense on a certain mountain which they call Sin"[5]—or Shin.

Indications of a former population abounded, in stone walls and primitive building ruins; and it was evident from the camel tracks, that this old-time route, the "Way of the Spies,"[6] was still much traveled.

15. LOST IN THE DESERT.

At 5.15 we descended into Wady 'Ayn el-Qadayrât. This wady was more like Wady Fayrân than any we had seen, of like extent, since leaving the lower peninsula. Shrubs and trees were in comparative luxuriance. One tarfa tree had a trunk four feet in circumference. Doves, quail, and snipe, were numerous. From the main wady, which lay east and west, several wady spurs ran

[1] By Cosmas, surnamed Indicopleustes, a traveled monk of the sixth century, who, at Alexandria, wrote "A Christian Topography Embracing the Whole World."

[2] See Tuch's *Ein und zwanzig Sinaitische Inschriften*, pp. 31, 46.

[3] See Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, I., 128 *f.*, and Note XIX., p. 593 *f.*; and Bartlett's *Egypt to Pal.*, pp. 226–232 for the views of various scholars on this point; also see Tuch, as above; Beer's *Inscriptiones Veteres;* Sharpe's *Sinaitic Inscriptions*, and Forster's *Israel in the Wilderness*, and other works (the works of the last two authors are chiefly valuable as curiosities).

[4] Num. 20: 1. [5] *Antiquities*, Book IV., chap. 4, § 6. [6] Num. 21: 1.

up among the hills northerly and northeasterly. Into one of these Owdy led the way, in confidence that the wells were there.

It certainly seemed as if wells were to be looked for in that wady spur; for vegetation was rich and abundant there; but it was followed to its head in vain. Owdy was evidently greatly disappointed; and finding his memory at fault, he was at once confused and disturbed. He alone had ever been in this region; and that, many years before. The young shaykhs, like the rest of us, had depended wholly on him as a guide. When he confessed that he had lost his way, a new panic seized the party. It is a mistake to suppose that the Bed'ween are always cool-headed and confident as desert travelers. An experienced observer of them has said: "Their faculty of finding their way across the deserts has been much exaggerated. Bedawîn, of course, know their own district well, and that district is often a large one; but once take them out of it, and they are very nearly helpless."[1] We found it so with Owdy and the young shaykhs in Wady el-'Ayn.

And, at the best, our situation just then was by no means assuring, even to one of a cool head, and of strong nerves. Night was coming on rapidly. We were in an enemy's country, not knowing the way out of it. We were practically without food or water. Our escort and guide were terror-stricken. Our dragoman was in despair. There was need of courage, and of effort to impart courage, on our part. Then was when old army experiences were of value. And just then there was actually a certain comfort in the lesson of the forty days fast of Dr. Tanner (the great American faster), which had concluded safely shortly before my leaving home. He had shown that a strong-willed man need not die of starvation because of a few weeks' abstinence. We took heart in the memory of his continuance. We spoke words of cheer to the Arabs determinedly. My counsel was, that if Owdy no longer

[1] *Bedouins of Euphrates*, p. 389.

knew the way, we should stop where we were for the night, instead of groping blindly in the darkness; and then in the morning we should have the full day to find our way to the open country, with its familiar landmarks. Or, if Owdy would look farther for some remembered feature of the region, in the still remaining light, we would follow him hopefully until the night had fairly shut in. He decided on the latter course, and we pushed westward. Half an hour brought us to another spur of the wady, running northerly, and then curving northeasterly; and instantly an exclamation of delight from Owdy assured us that once more he knew where we were; so that we were no longer lost.

16. AN ANCIENT VILLAGE.

Near the entrance of this wady spur, as we turned into it, we saw on a low hill-top at our right, the remains of a massive stone structure, quite unlike any other ruins we had seen in our journeying. The rude cairns and stone circles, which we had found all the way along during the day, were numerous on the hillsides of Wady 'Ayn el-Qadayrât, but this was very different from those. It was of huge blocks of cut or closely-hammered stone, laid in even courses, and laid double; one wall immediately inside of another. It was quadrangular, about seventy feet by seventy-five, enclosing an open court; and its double walls rose some six feet above the ground. It was clearly an ancient ruin, although by no means so primitive as the circles and cairns.

Either at this point, or at the wady spur we had first explored, or again at both and along between the two, there were existing ruins enough to mark the "Hazar," or "Hezron;" or the "Place of Enclosure," or the "Stone-encircled Place," which, according to the Bible record, lay between Kadesh-barnea and 'Adar; or between Qadees and Qadayrât. In Numbers 34: 4, "Hazar" is linked with "Adar"; in Joshua 15: 3, it is given separately as

"Hezron." The Septuagint renders it, in the first instance,[1] the "fold," or the "enclosure"; the Vulgate renders it "a villa [or, a village] called Adar."[2]

Palmer has thrown added light on this word as used in the Old Testament story, by aid of the experience of his friend Tyrwhitt-Drake in Morocco, among the African Arabs who originally emigrated from Arabia, and have retained many of their ancestral customs. When these Arabs are in a region where they are liable to attacks from enemies, they pitch their tents in a circle, with their cattle and goods in the centre: "The whole is then fenced in with a low wall of stones, in which are inserted thick bundles of thorny acacia, the tangled branches and long needle-like spikes forming a perfectly impenetrable hedge around the encampment. These are called *Dowârs*, and there can be but little doubt that they are the same with the *Hazeroth*, or 'Field Enclosures,' used by the pastoral tribes mentioned in the Bible."[3]

Again, Mills[4] describes the remains of ancient "circular enclosures of loose stones" on Mount Ebal, "some standing, in a tolerable state of preservation, while others are partly demolished, with the stones scattered all around." "One of these enclosures," he says, "measured 210 feet in diameter, and some others are of similar dimensions." In his opinion, these structures "belonged to the aborigines, or perhaps to the Israelitish conquerors of the time of Joshua." And he thinks that "the Hebrew word חָצֵר (*khatser*),[5] generally rendered court or village, means in its topographical sense a village exactly corresponding to what these might have been—namely, a stone wall having tent-cloth drawn over it."[6]

[1] At Num. 34: 4: εἰς ἔπαυλιν Ἀρὰδ; *eis epaulin Arad.* [2] "*Villam nomine Adar.*"

[3] *Des. of Exod.*, II., 321 *f.* [4] *Nablus and Mod. Samar.*, p. 10 *f.*

[5] Robinson's *Gesenius* (s. v. חָצֵר) says, that this word is applied to the "movable villages or encampments of nomadic tribes, who usually pitch their tents in a circle, or so as to form an enclosure." See also Fürst's *Heb. u. Chald. Wörterb.*, at the same word.

[6] See also, p. 314 *f.*

Naturally those nomads whose range lay along the lower border of Canaan would find the need of such protection to their encampments; and we are distinctly told of the people who occupied the region of the modern 'Azâzimeh, that they "dwelt in Hâzerim,"[1] all the way along to Gaza. The remains of those Hazerim, in exceptional prominence, are to be seen to-day in Wady 'Ayn el-Qadayrât, and elsewhere along that line. Their place would form a notable landmark; inasmuch as the same state of things which rendered them a necessity there at one time, would make their continuance there a necessity.

17. 'AYN EL-QADAYRÂT DISCOVERED.

The signs of fertility in this spur were far greater than in the main wady. Grass and shrubs and trees were in luxuriance, and the luxuriance increased at every step as we pushed on. One tree, called by our Arabs a "seyal" (or acacia), but not showing thorns like the acacias of the lower desert, exceeded in size any tree of the sort we had ever seen. Its trunk was double; one stock being some six feet in girth; the other, four feet and a-half. The entire sweep of the branches was a circumference of nearly two hundred and fifty feet, according to our pacing of it. With such trees as that in the desert, it were easy enough to get the seyal, or shittim, wood, of suitable size for the boards and bars of the tabernacle.[2] Still the luxuriance of vegetation increased. Then, as we proceeded, came the sound of flowing, and of falling, water. A water channel of fifteen to twenty yards in width, its stream bordered with reeds or flags, showed itself at our feet between the hills. We moved eastward along its southern border. Above the gurgling sound of the running stream, there grew more distinct the rush of a torrent-fall. As we pressed toward its source, the banks of the

[1] Deut. 2: 23. [2] Exod. 26: 15-29.

stream narrowed and rose, and we clambered them, and found our way through dense shrubbery until we reached the bank of the fountain-basin. There we looked down into a pool some twelve to fourteen feet below us; into which a copious stream rushed from out the hillside at the east, with a fall of seven or eight feet. The hillside from which this stream poured was verdure-covered, and the stream seemed to start out from it, at five or six feet below our level. The dense vegetation prevented our seeing whether the stream sprang directly out of an opening in the hillside, or came down along a concealed channel from springs yet farther eastward; but the appearance was of the former. Waving flags, four or five feet high, bordered this pool, as they bordered the channel below it.

Our dragoman enthusiastically compared the fountain to that of Banias,[1] away northward, at the source of the Jordan. It was certainly a wonderful fountain for the desert's border. Its name 'Ayn el-Qadayrât (قضراة) the "Fountain of Omnipotence," or "Fountain of God's Power," was not inappropriate, in view of its impressiveness, bursting forth there so unexpectedly, as at the word of Him who "turneth the wilderness into a standing water, and dry ground into watersprings."[2] No wonder that this fountain was a landmark in the boundary line of the possession, which had been promised of God to his people, as "a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills."[3] Viewed merely as a desert-fountain, 'Ayn el-Qadayrât was even more remarkable than 'Ayn Qadees; although the hill-encircled wady watered by the latter, was far more extensive than Wady 'Ayn el-Qadayrât; and was suited to be a place of protected and permanent encampment, as the latter could not be. Perhaps it ought to be mentioned, that the "date-palms" which Seetzen

[1] "I can hear the rush of the fountains of Banias." (Bayard Taylor, in *The Lands of the Saracen*, p. 114.)

[2] Psa. 107: 35.

[3] Deut. 8: 7.

spoke of as watered by this fountain, were not seen by us. Yet they may have been elsewhere; or indeed, they may have existed in his day, although not now remaining.

There was a peculiar satisfaction in looking at this remarkable fountain, when at last we had reached it. No visit to it had been recorded by any traveler in modern times. Seetzen[1] and Robinson,[2] and Rowlands,[3] and Bonar,[4] and Palmer,[5] and others, had been told of it, and had reported it accordingly; but no one of them claimed to have seen it. In view of all that these travelers had said, and after his own careful search for it, up and down the wady, Bartlett, (as has already been mentioned) had come to the conclusion that no such fountain existed;[6] that, in fact, Wady el-'Ayn, the Wady of the Well, was a wady without a well. To put our eyes on it, therefore, the very day of our seeing 'Ayn Qadees, was enough to drive out of mind all thought of our dangers and worry on the way to it. We congratulated one another all around; and Muhammad Ahmad was promised anew that he should go into that book—"8 Silk Bazar," and all.

18. A RIDE IN THE DARKNESS.

Before we had fully satisfied our curiosity in examining the fountain and its surroundings, the moonless night was suddenly upon us; there being almost no twilight in the desert. Our dromedaries had been left at the entrance of this wady spur; and we turned to grope our way back to them. Among the tall flags, and the dense and thorny shrubbery, it was not an easy matter to pick our way over the rough wady-bottom. The darkness was, of course, much greater, with the bed of green below us, than in the desert, where the chalky surface made a starry night comparatively light about us. All of us stumbled more or less; and the dragoman

[1] *Reise*, III., 47. [2] *Bib. Res.*, I., 189. [3] Williams's *Holy City*, p. 491.
[4] *Des. of Sinai*, p. 293. [5] *Des. of Exod.*, II., 350. [6] *Egypt to Pal.*, p. 362 *ff.*

had a fall among the rocks which well-nigh disabled him. It looked for a while as if we must watch with him there for the night. The Arabs were again nervous and fearful. The loud hooting of an owl was mistaken by one of our party for the call of a human voice; and its strange cry added to the weirdness of the time and place.

It was with something of a feeling of relief that we once more had the companionship of our dromedaries, and were weaving back and forth on their humps, at the accustomed measure, as we moved out—we knew not whither. Yet in that blind start, in the darkness, out of Wady 'Ayn el-Qadayrât, we realized as never before what a comfort to the Israelites on the desert must have been the guiding pillar of God's presence, when "the Lord went before them by day in a pillar of a cloud, to lead them the way; and by night in a pillar of fire, to give them light; to go by day and night."[1]

The next few hours were wearisome and anxious ones to us all. It was about 7 o'clock when we turned away from 'Ayn el-Qadayrât. Our day had, already, been fourteen hours long—nearly twelve from our leaving camp; and the nervous strain on us had been severe from the start. The night was chilly, as well as dark. Our movements must be slow and uncertain at the best. Owdy was sure of the general direction toward the caravan route up which our camel train had moved; but not knowing just where the train had halted for the night, it was by no means an easy task to push across the intervening hills and wadies in the darkness, with any assurance of directness. There were rough places to be passed; and our course must be zig-zagged repeatedly, in order to cross some of the separating ravines, inasmuch as we were not moving in the line of any well-traveled route, but were passing from one to another. In several instances we lost the track, for a

[1] Exod. 13: 21.

season, and then the way was perilous. Travelers, Arabs, and dromedaries alike, were all anxious to get back to the rude trail again. Stumbling along the narrow and ill-defined path of some rugged hillside, in the darkness of that bewildering night, with the constant liability to swerve from it, into unperceived or dimly seen dangers at right or left, we found a new meaning in the prayer of the Oriental Psalmist: "Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my footsteps slip not."[1]

19. INTO CAMP AGAIN.

How we peered out into the darkness for some sign of the longed-for camp! Once we caught a gleam of the white tents just ahead, as all of us were sure when their keen-eyed discoverer had pointed them out to us. What a joy that was to us, as we hurried toward them! But they settled back into a chalk cliff, when we were fairly abreast of them; and their disappearance left the night darker and the way rougher than ever, until a new hope was sprung ahead of us by a light that flashed up suddenly on the far horizon. It was but for an instant, and all trace of it was gone. Then there was another flash in the same direction. And as, with all our eyes, we scanned the horizon thitherward, we saw a small but steady light where the flashes had fixed our gaze. The camp was just ahead. Our faithful waiter, Muhammad, had hung out a lantern in the direction whence he looked for us, and had flashed powder occasionally in the hope of its catching our eyes. He was quite as much relieved by our shout of response to his signals, as we by the sight of his beacon light; for he had been even more anxious for us than we for ourselves: his imaginings of danger for us being greater and more constant than the reality of our experiences in that line.

[1] Psa. 17: 5.

A desert camp had never seemed so pleasant to us, as when we were fairly in ours in Wady es-Serâm, at 10 o'clock that night, after our long and exciting day's absence from it. There were rejoicings and congratulatings on every side, in true Oriental style. We certainly had a great deal heartier welcome on our return from spying out Kadesh, than was given to the spies of old, when they returned from Canaan to their camp in Kadesh. And not even quails and manna were so satisfying to the Israelites, when they journeyed toward the region we had just visited, as our desert dinner proved to us, when we had come thus far by the Way of the Spies, unmolested by Avim, or Amorites, or 'Azâzimeh.

20. A SECOND DAY'S PLAN.

Two of the three wells which had been so long in dispute, I had now visited. The third one—Qasaymeh—had been seen by many; and it was fully described in several books of travel. It might seem unnecessary for me to delay longer for the purpose of seeing that. Yet, as the question of two wells or three had long been an open one, it was desirable to set that point finally at rest by personally visiting the three. Hence it was, that I planned for a trip to the third well on the following morning—Thursday, March 31.

Wady Qasaymeh was behind us; our baggage train having passed its entrance on the way to Wady es-Serâm, while we were hunting 'Ayn Qadees. It was therefore arranged that once more that train should move slowly forward, while we of the yesterday's party turned back to Qasaymeh. After an early breakfast, we started southward, taking a route a little to the eastward of that which our train had taken on the way northward. In Wady Sabh,[1] or Sabhah,[2] we observed on the hillsides, not only those "relics of a primeval people—cairns and dwellings such as we

[1] See Palmer's Map. [2] Stewart's *Tent and Khan*, p. 197.

have noticed elsewhere"[1] as common in this region, but also more or less of the "innumerable well-made heaps of stones, placed with extreme regularity along the edges of the cliffs, and always facing the east," which Palmer[2] inclines to identify as "in some way or other connected with the worship of Baal" by the idolaters of the land, before Israel destroyed the cities of the South[3] in all this region.

21. THE THIRD WELL VISITED.

Less than two hours brought us to Wady Qasaymeh (قسيمة) and its familiar wells. Robinson[4] describes these wells as "several pits of bluish, brackish water, dug a few feet deep in a bed of blue clay, surrounded by an abundance of coarse bulrushes and rank vegetation." Palmer[5] says: "They are not deep wells, nor springs proper, but a few *themâil,* or shallow pits;" and their position "is marked by a melancholy looking bed of rushes." Bartlett,[6] thinking that these wells were in Wady Qadees, is fuller and more enthusiastic in their description; yet all that he says is borne out by the facts as I observed them, although his estimate of their relative importance is exaggerated, through his failure to know of the more remarkable wells near them. He found in this wady "the most abundant water supply" he saw "between Nukhl and Beersheba." When he was here, he noted, first, "three excavations in the sandy soil, each about seven feet in diameter, containing water to the depth of two feet. Around these were smaller holes, some two feet in diameter, also containing water." Passing eastward "for several rods through a marsh filled with reeds and rushes," he crossed a number of "narrow channels of standing water. To the right, at this point, a spur of rock projected north-

[1] Palmer's *Des. of Exod.*, II., 355.
[2] *Des. of Exod.*, II., 356.
[3] Josh. 10: 36–40.
[4] *Bib. Res.*, I., 190.
[5] *Des. of Exod.*, II., 357.
[6] *Egypt to Palestine*, pp. 359–362.

westerly from the southern embankment of the wady, and the water came out of this spur in moderate quantities and flowed down a series of stairlike ledges into the wady." Beyond the marshy ground he "came to a rather higher level of sandy soil," and "found somewhat widely scattered, nine of the larger and two of the smaller excavations now opened. In most of them the water had been rendered dirty by camels, but wherever it stood in a clean place it was clear and good." "Over a large space of the higher sandy soil, it was evidently only a question of convenience where to scoop a hole and find water."

All this we found substantially as described. We could also see that the place was in a sense "notable" and "important;" for any source of much water is notable and important in "a dry and thirsty land, where"—as a rule—"no water is."[1] Yet these wells bore no comparison with those we had seen the day before. It was, however, their accurate description in Bartlett's narrative, that had served me so good a turn, in causing my Arab guides to believe that I knew their country better than they did; albeit I then supposed these wells to be in Wady Qadees.

22. ANOTHER LANDMARK RECOGNIZED.

That this "Qasaymeh" was the "'Azmon"[2] of the ancient southern boundary line of the Land of Promise, finds strong confirmation in the fact that the Jewish Targums give "Qesam"[3] and "Qaisam"[4] for 'Azmon. And the "Karkaa,"[5] or "the bottom

[1] Psa. 63: 1. [2] Num. 34: 4, 5; Josh. 15: 4.

[3] Targum of the Pseudo-Jonathan at Num. 34: 4 (קְסַם, *qesam*).

[4] Targum of Jerusalem at Num. 34: 4 (קֵיסַם, *qaisam*).

[5] Josh. 15: 3 (הַקַּרְקָע, *haqqarqa'a*; "the bottom-land").

"The word means 'a low-lying flat,' and perhaps may belong to some district in the border-land between Adar and Azmon, rather than to any town." (*Speaker's Com.*, in loco).

Robinson's *Gesenius* gives the meaning of this word as a "floor," or "the bottom

land," which is referred to as between "Adar" (or "Qadayrât") and "'Azmon" (or Qasaymeh),[1] would seem to be found in the bed of this extensive water basin, which Bartlett[2] describes as "continuing a mile beyond where the water is found," in the direction of where we found 'Ayn el-Qadayrât; forming "a kind of oblong basin enclosed on all sides by continuous ranges of hills, and terminating at the east abruptly against a still higher mountain range, which runs north and south." He adds, that "at the eastern end of the wady, however, its northern hill-boundary breaks down, and the valley connects here (as indicated in Mr. Palmer's map) with the eastern terminus of Wady el 'Ain."

This connection of Wady Qasaymeh, at its eastern, or north-eastern end, with Wady 'Ayn el-Qadayrât, I was told of by my Arabs. It conforms most accurately with the description of the southern boundary-line of Judah,[3] which from Kadesh-barnea, or Qadees, passed along to "Hezron," or the Place of Enclosures, and went up to "Adar," or Qadayrât; and fetched a compass from Qadayrât, through this break in the mountain-wall, to the "Karkaa," or the Bottom Land beyond; and passed toward "'Azmon," or Qasaymeh; and went out toward "the river of Egypt," or Wady el-'Areesh, whence its goings out were at the Mediterranean Sea.

of the sea," and would find its root in *qoor* (קוּר), "to dig for water." Fürst (*Wörterbuch*) would connect it with *raq'a* (רָקַע), "to spread out." See, also, Wilton's *The Negeb*, pp. 162–164.

All these conditions are met in the earthen floor which is spread out beyond Qasaymeh toward Qadayrât, as a water basin, in which one can dig for water at almost any point.

1 To a person entirely unacquainted with the Oriental tongues, this recognizing of "Adar" and "Azmon" in "Qadayrât" and "Qasaymeh" may appear forced or strange. But it suffices to say, that these words are variously written, as if beginning with a "Q," a "K," a "G," an "A", or an aspirated A; all these letters representing variations of a common guttural sound of the original. And the terminal "ât," or "eh," is an inessential addition, according to the customs of the language.

2 *Egypt to Palestine*, p. 360.

3 Josh. 15: 3, 4.

It is a noteworthy fact, moreover, that Palmer[1] was pointed by the Arabs, in this wady, to ruins which they said marked "the limits of the territory of the 'old Christians,'" as the Bed'ween call the ancient inhabitants of their country. The very name of this wady—in its root derivation, both in Hebrew[2] and in Arabic[3]—indicates "division" and "apportionment"; and although this does not, as some have claimed,[4] necessarily suggest the idea of "boundary," it certainly consists with the idea of a place of boundary-division growing out of the apportionment of territory on one side to one people and on the other side to another people. When I asked of my dragoman the meaning of "Qasaymeh," his answer was: "When a man give out all his property to his sons, he give one share alike to all. Qasaymeh mean *that*." This wady is obviously a natural division-line in any apportionment of the lands on either side of it.

I have quoted freely from Bartlett's description of Wady Qasaymeh for two reasons. In the first place, I contented myself with verifying that description on the spot, rather than in making extended fresh notes, as at the other wells—which had not been so fully described. And, again, there is added force in the accuracy of these details, as conforming to the Bible text, when it is remembered that in their writing Bartlett supposed he was describing Wady Qadees, and not Wady Qasaymeh. All the facts given me by my Arabs were obtained without any leading questions on my part. Not having come to Qasaymeh directly from Qadayrât, I could not be sure of the compass direction of the one from the other. At the time, I thought that Qadayrât lay farther north than Qasaymeh; and I reported accordingly in the first mention of my journeyings;[5] but a subsequent study of maps and itineraries,

[1] See *Des. of Exod.*, II., 356 *f.*

[2] קָסַם, *qasam*; "divided."

[3] *Qasama*; "duly apportioned." See Freytag's *Lex. Arab. Lat.*, s. v.

[4] See *Surv. of West. Pal.*, "Name Lists," p. 9.

[5] In Quarterly Statement of Pal. Explor. Fund, for July, 1881.

together with a recall of my own course, led to the conviction that 'Ayn el-Qadayrât lay easterly, or perhaps a little south of east, from 'Ayn Qasaymeh; as would be inferred from the Bible narrative. Owdy was positive that there was no opening from either Wady Qasaymeh or Wady 'Ayn el-Qadayrât into Wady Qadees.

While we were at Qasaymeh, a party of Bed'ween women came to the wells, leading donkeys—on the backs of which were slung large water skins to be filled at the wells. There were also baby Arabs and baby donkeys; both comical enough in their way. The donkeys were permitted to go directly into the pools and trouble the water with their feet, before the water skins were filled. Whether this was supposed to give a medical value to the water did not appear; but it certainly increased its specific gravity, and commingled with it whatever helps to healing the soil of the region might supply. The women followed the donkeys into the pools, and filled the water skins at their feet. And this is the Oriental order of watering beasts and men at watering pools. These Arab women were, I believe, of the Terâbeen tribe. Several tribes water here, as if 'Ayn Qasaymeh were the common apportionment of the Arabs on every side.

23. AN ARAB'S SHORT CUT.

Having satisfied our curiosity concerning Qasaymeh, we remounted our camels, and turned our faces northward. The shrewd Owdy professed to know "a short cut" across the country on our way to overtake our caravan, and naturally we trusted to his guidance. It seemed to us that we veered too far westward, but he was positive that we should save distance by his route, so we followed it. Still bearing to the west of north, we came to an open plain with its waving grain fields. This, Owdy called Wady Rahhabeh, or Rayhobeh. I find no such wady on the maps; but I give the name as it was given to me, for whatever it may prove

to be worth. It is a long way below the well-known Wady Ruhaybeh, commonly supposed to be the Rehoboth of Isaac,[1] which we passed the next afternoon.

In one of the side hills above this wady, eastward, we saw a large cave, of the sort often described in this region,[2] as possibly an old quarry, or again as an ancient dwelling. And now we learned the secret of Owdy's "short cut." He had a field of barley planted in this wady, and wanting to take a look at it, he had brought us out of our way to enable him to do so. The opportunity to do this he deemed too good to be lost; and even if he might have resisted the temptation, he did not. The barley looked well; and Owdy was satisfied, whoever else was disposed to complain.[3]

Turning now to the east of north, we hurried on. Again we crossed Wady Sabh; this time at its western end. There we saw a number of flourishing fig trees. Soon after noon we were near our last night's camping ground in Wady Serâm; and we halted for a lunch. All the afternoon, as we pushed northward, we were surrounded by signs of present fertility of soil, and of former extensive cultivation; as many travelers have before reported.[4]

24. OWDY'S USE OF SALT.

Although I had surprised Owdy into truth-telling in our conference over the wells, two evenings before, he was by no means dis-

[1] Gen. 26: 19-22.

[2] Bonar's *Des. of Sinai*, p. 300; Palmer's *Des. of Exod.*, II., 357; Bartlett's *Egypt to Pal.*, p. 357.

[3] Sir Frederick Henniker (*Notes during a Visit to Egypt*, etc., p. 244) tells of a similar deceit practiced on him by his guide, who desired to visit a friend on the road from Mount Sinai.

[4] See, Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, I., 191 *f.*; Bonar's *Des. of Sinai*, pp. 300-303; Stewart's *Tent and Khan*, p. 197; Palmer's *Des. of Exod.*, II., 359-361; Bartlett's *Egypt to Pal.*, pp. 364-366.

posed to become "a slave of the truth." "Lying is the salt of a man,"[1] as an Arab views it; and Owdy did not propose to live without salt more than one day at a time. His "short cut" to reach his own barley-field was not his only falsehood of this day.

When we came to Wady Hanayn, known to the Arabs as "a valley of gardens," Owdy insisted that its name was "Wady Hafeer." This was in accordance with the Arab superstition that "should a *seil* [a sudden rain-flood] once come down Wádi Hanein, there would be an end to all prosperity in the land." As a guard against this danger, the "Christians," who are supposed to have a "mysterious influence over the rainfall," are not permitted to hear the name "Hanein," or "Hanayn," with its evil omen, lest they should be prompted to hasten the dreaded doom.[2]

Again, as we neared El-'Aujeh, in the vicinity of which we expected to come up with our caravan, and camp for the night, I asked casually how near us was "Wady Beerayn." Owdy had "never heard of that place." His expression of ignorance was seemingly so natural and artless that at first I thought I was misunderstood by him, and I changed the pronunciation of the name several times in repeating the question, but all to no purpose. Then my dragoman sounded Owdy and the others of the party one by one, only to find an appalling stupidity-resting down on them all. I knew they were shamming, although my dragoman thought it could not be so; but as I had no wish to follow up the matter, I let it drop.

That evening, when they were in camp, the Arabs gleefully in-

[1] An "Arab proverb, *el-kizb milh el-insán*." (Palmer's *Des. of Exod.*, II., 325; also Conder's *Tent Work in Pal.*, II., 210.)

"Truth in ordinary matters, is not regarded as a virtue by the Bedouins, nor is lying held shameful. Every man, they say, has a right to conceal his own thought." (*Bedouins of Euphrates*, p. 390.) And there are traces of this Oriental philosophy in the reasoning of many Occidentals.

[2] See Palmer's *Des. of Exod.*, II., 365 *f.*

formed the dragoman that they knew Wady Beerayn well enough; but they thought I might want to visit it, and they had had well-hunting enough for one trip. Owdy had quietly passed the word to them all to feign ignorance under my questioning, and they had acted their part to perfection.

25. A CAMP AT EL-'AUJEH.

El-'Aujeh is one of three places prominent for their extensive ruins in the western Negeb; the other two being El-'Abdeh and Sebayta. Palmer quotes a saying of the Arabs, "There is nothing grander than El-'Aujeh and El-'Abdeh, except Sebaita, which is grander than either."[1] As has been already mentioned,[2] Robinson, misled by his Arabs and a Hebron camel-owner, confounded El-'Aujeh with El-'Abdeh,[3] and his error has been followed and popularized by Porter in Murray's Handbook.[4] After Seetzen's first mention of El-'Abdeh, as "Abde,"[5] Bonar[6] and Stewart[7] pointed out the two places, El-'Abdeh and El-'Aujeh, in their separateness; and finally Palmer[8] visited both places, as also Sebayta, and gave a full description of the three. Stewart has suggested the identity of El-'Aujeh with the capital of ancient Gerar,[9] and it is certainly a more reasonable site for that city than the ruins near Gaza, as conforming to the hints of its location in the Bible text. El-'Aujeh seems to be a favorite haunt of the 'Azâzimeh, and they are jealous of its approach by Christians;[10] yet, as it is not within their extensive domain, they cannot confiscate the property of travelers whom the Teeyâhah guide past it.

[1] *Des. of Exod.*, II., 375. [2] See page 87 *f.*, *supra*, note.
[3] *Bib. Res.*, I., 191, 600 *f.*
[4] See Murray's *Handbook for Syria and Pal.*, edition of 1875, p. 100.
[5] *Reise*, III., 43. [6] *Des. of Sinai*, p. 302 *ff.* [7] *Tent and Khan*, p. 198 *ff.*
[8] *Des. of Exod.*, II., 359–413. [9] *Tent and Khan*, pp. 200, 209.
[10] *Des. of Exod.*, II., 371.

The principal ruins of El-'Aujeh are on the summits of a double hill, which looms up above the plain of Wady Hanayn as one approaches it from the south. Eastward and northerly of this hill gleamed our snowy tents, as we came over the plain at the close of the day. But between us and our camp we saw, at our right, the black tents of Bed'ween, whom our Arabs at once pronounced "'Azâzimeh," and with this recognition the discoverers, dragoman included, were filled with dismay. All seemed more fearful than usual, as if from the thought that the 'Azâzimeh might be aware of our clandestine visit of the day before, to their jealously-guarded wells.

26. ARAB MODE OF BALANCING AN ACCOUNT.

The 'Azâzimeh camp was a large one. As we neared it, in passing, we saw that we were watched curiously by sharp-eyed women and children at every tent. Great flocks of sheep and goats were feeding in the vicinity. The men whom we saw, gave us surly looks.

Hardly were we in our tents, on reaching our camp, before word came that the 'Azâzimeh had seized one of the dromedaries we had been riding. At this our dragoman applied to the 'Azâzimeh shaykh for an explanation. The shaykh's reply was, that some two years before this the Teeyâhah had taken a dromedary from his people, and he had been waiting all this time for an opportunity of reprisal. At last the opportunity and the dromedary were at hand. He had simply balanced a long standing account. Could anything be fairer than this?

Instead of denouncing the whole transaction as dishonest and outrageous, Muhammad Ahmad, with true Oriental courtesy and shrewdness, admitted that the principle affirmed was eminently a correct one. On the shaykh's showing of the case, the Teeyâhah clearly owed a dromedary to the 'Azâzimeh; and the 'Azâzimeh

were quite right in desiring to collect their dues. But there was another point in *this* case, which the shaykh would do well not to overlook. The Teeyâhah were now under contract with "Christian" travelers to convey them safely and speedily to Hebron. The dromedaries of the caravan belonged for the time being to the Christians. They were now on the highway, over which the Teeyâhah were by desert law entitled to pass. There was here no trespass on the 'Azâzimeh's exclusive domain. If a dromedary were taken from this caravan, the Christians would rightly be angered; and their curse might be brought on the land. They might bring a *sayl* down Wady Hanayn; or their people from afar might come to retake the desert. If the shaykh were wise, he would postpone his attempt at reprisal until the Teeyâhah came that way without any Christian travelers in convoy.

This was the dragoman's putting of the case; and he presented it as if out of sheer love for the 'Azâzimeh, rather than because of his incidental connection with the Teeyâhah. The shaykh, if not wise, was superstitious; as every Arab is. The pictured dangers he was incurring, were too formidable for him. He would have braved the Teeyâhah without hesitation; but he was not ready to defy the mysterious "Christians" with their power over the invisible world. He expressed regret that he had failed to comprehend the true state of this case, from the beginning; and he hastened to restore the dromedary to its place in the caravan camp.[1]

[1] It is possible that this narrow escape of a dromedary has increased the Teeyâhah reluctance to cross the 'Azâzimeh territory northward. At all events, Professor Post, of Bayroot, a long time resident of the East, while crossing the desert with his friend, the Rev. Dr. Field, of New York, in the spring of 1882, found himself unable to induce the Teeyâhah to take that course. He says ("Sunday School World" for January, 1883), "[They] raised so many difficulties in regard to the route to Hebron, that we were obliged to modify our itinerary and go by way of Gaza." An English party, about the same time (as reported in "Macmillan's Magazine" for January, 1883), intent on going "by Nakhl, Beersheba and Hebron," had a similar experience. The narrator says: "We were forced to make a *détour* by Gaza [from Nakhl],

27. AN 'AZÂZIMEH PROTEST.

Later in the evening, the 'Azâzimeh shaykh came again to our camp, as if under exercise of mind about the suggestions of our dragoman concerning the possible performances of the Christian travelers. He said that he very well knew that all this country—the desert land—once belonged to the Christians' grandfathers, and that the ruins about us—El-'Aujeh included—were Christian ruins; but now the country belonged to the 'Azâzimeh, and he hoped the Christians would respect 'Azâzimeh rights.

He was much relieved when assured that the Christians of this party would make no claim to the territory, and that their declaration to him was: "We will go by the king's highway; we will not turn to the right hand nor to the left, until we have passed thy borders. And if we and our cattle drink of thy water, then we will pay for it: we will only, without doing anything else, go through on our feet."[1]

This 'Azâzimeh shaykh's anxiety was an illustration of the common dread, among the wilder Arab tribes, of a Christian invasion of the desert; a dread which in itself has been one of the chief hindrances to unrestricted visits to the region of 'Ayn Qadees. Owdy and our young shaykhs told our dragoman, on this evening at El-'Aujeh, that the prevailing unwillingness of their people to have travelers visit 'Ayn Qadees and 'Ayn el-Qadayrât grew out of the fear that if Christians knew there were such wells as those in the desert, they would come and retake the country. Because desert wells are such a priceless treasure to the Bed'ween, it is hard for the Bed'ween to realize that Christians can see them in any less

as we learnt on the way that fighting was going on between certain tribes round Beersheba, and nothing would induce our Arabs to go on unless we would change our plans."

[1] Num. 20: 17, 19.

attractive light. Indeed our Arabs grieved the heart of Muhammad Ahmad by reproaching him for having used his influence as a Muhammadan preacher to induce them to disclose the sacred treasures of the desert to unbelievers.[1]

And these incidents at El-'Aujeh closed up our two days' romantic and successful hunt for the wells of Qadees, Qadayrât, and Qasaymeh.

[1] 2 Kings 20: 12-17; Isa. 39: 1-6.

It is more than possible that the young shaykhs, Hamdh and Ibrâheem, were taken seriously to task by their indignant fathers, when it became known that they had actually piloted Christian travelers to the long-concealed well at Qadees. If so, their mistake will be less likely to occur again.

VI.

KADESH-BARNEA.

THE SITES COMPARED.

KADESH-BARNEA.

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1. SUGGESTED IDENTIFICATIONS.

And now that all the facts in the case are fairly before us, it is desirable to look back over their record, in order to a recognition of their variety and their relative importance. The different sites suggested in identification of Kadesh-barnea ought to be brought into direct comparison, if we would arrive at a final and definite conclusion concerning their merits respectively.

It has been seen that at least eighteen distinct sites have been proposed for the identification of the sanctuary-stronghold on the southern border of the Holy Land. These are: 1. Chawatha, or Hawwâdeh, between Gaza and Beersheba;[1] 2. Castle Nakhl, or its vicinity;[2] 3. A locality at a day's distance northward from Mount Sinai;[3] 4. A point near Ezion-gaber;[4] 5. The 'Arabah;[5] 6. "Embasch," at the mouth of Wady Jerâfeh;[6] 7. Jebel Madurah, and its vicinity;[7] 8. 'Ayn Hasb;[8] 9. Wady Gayan, or Abyad;[9] 10. 'Ayn el-Waybeh;[10] 11. 'Ayn Qadees;[11] 12. El-Khaloos;[12] 13. Wady Ghuwayr;[13] 14. 'Ayn esh-Shehâbeh;[14] 15. Wady,

[1] See page 192*f.* *supra*
[2] See page 203*f.* *supra*.
[3] " " 204, "
[4] " " 227, "
[5] " " 205 *ff.*, "
[6] " " 206, "
[7] " " 207, "
[8] " " 206 *f.*, "
[9] " " 222, "
[10] " " 209 *ff.*, "
[11] " " 211–215, "
[12] " " 227, "
[13] " " 227, "
[14] " " 225, "

Feqreh;[1] 16. Near the southeast portion of the Jebel Muqrâh tract;[2] 17. Petra;[3] 18. Along the Upper 'Arabah, and to the base of Naqb es-Sufâh.[4]

At first sight, this seems a strange and hopeless tangle; yet on examination it appears that the eighteen sites are ranged on the two sides of a well-defined line; and that they are to be considered, in their comparison, with reference to that one line. Ten of these sites are in the 'Arabah, or immediately out of it and near its level; while eight of them are on the upper desert, or northward of it and near its level. And this division at once simplifies the comparison of the many sites suggested.

2. THE TWO REPRESENTATIVE SITES.

Kadesh-barnea is to be recognized, either in or near the 'Arabah (the great natural depression between the eastern arm of the Red Sea and the southern end of the Dead Sea); or on or near the plateau of the Desert et-Teeh, more than a thousand feet above the level of the 'Arabah. The approach of the Israelites to Canaan must have been by the one direction or the other; by the lower 'Arabah, or by the upper desert; and Kadesh-barnea must have been at the northern extremity of the route thus taken.

'Ayn el-Waybeh is in the 'Arabah, near its upper end. 'Ayn Qadees is on the level of the upper desert, at a point northward of the desert proper, but not within the commonly supposed boundaries of Canaan. These two sites are, therefore, representative sites; and it is not to be wondered at that they have been so accepted and discussed. The main arguments for, and the main objections to, the one or the other of these sites, tell for or against the seven, or the nine, other sites proposed in the same general

[1] See page 228, *supra*.
[2] See page 228, *supra*.
[3] " " 228, "
[4] " " 227 *f.*, "

region. If the general region of the one is established as correct, the precise location of that one calls for supplemental examination; but if its general region is ruled out of the case, its precise location in that region is of no further importance.

Hence the real issue in this case can fairly be settled by a comparison of the two representative sites of 'Ayn el-Waybeh and 'Ayn Qadees. What, therefore, are the claims of, and what the objections to, these sites respectively?

3. CLAIMS FOR 'AYN EL-WAYBEH.

In support of the claims of 'Ayn el-Waybeh as the site of Kadesh-barnea, it is said, that as the Israelites went from Mount Sinai to Kadesh-barnea "by the way of Mount Seir,"[1] they must have gone by the 'Arabah, which skirts the western border of Mount Seir; and that 'Ayn el-Waybeh is the most prominent fountain in the highway of the 'Arabah toward Canaan.

Moreover, it is said, that as Kadesh-barnea was at the uttermost border of Edom,[2] and the 'Arabah was the western border of Mount Seir (which was also Edom), Kadesh-barnea could not have been westward of the 'Arabah; and, it being in the 'Arabah, there is no more probable site for it than 'Ayn el-Waybeh.

The surroundings of 'Ayn el-Waybeh are said to correspond with the surroundings of Kadesh-barnea; including the mountain at the northwest of it, up which, Canaanward, goes the Pass es-Sufâh (suggested as a synonym of Zephath);[3] including, also, Mount Hor, and other tentative identifications. The Wilderness of Zin is claimed to be identical with the 'Arabah; and the highway of the 'Arabah is said to be the Way of the Red Sea, down which the Israelites passed when they turned from Kadesh-barnea.[4]

[1] Deut. 1: 2.
[2] Num. 20: 16.
[3] Judges 1: 17. Comp. Num. 21: 3.
[4] Deut. 2: 1.

And as Kedor-la'omer halted at Kadesh on his way into Canaan, it is claimed that his more natural course, after turning the southern end of the Mount Seir range, would be up the 'Arabah, toward the site of 'Ayn el-Waybeh.

This seems to be the extent of the specific claims in support of this identification of Kadesh-barnea. Any reshaping of the argument is within the limits of these claims.

4. OBJECTIONS TO 'AYN EL-WAYBEH.

The prime objection to 'Ayn el-Waybeh is, that it is in the 'Arabah, where no Bible mention of Kadesh-barnea, earlier or later, will justify the location of that place.

Kedor-la'omer swept on past Mount Seir to an oasis in the Wilderness of Paran, before he turned northward.[1] The difficult passes of the southern mountain-wall of Canaan at the northern end of the 'Arabah, were quite unsuited to such an advance as his; especially if, as seems most probable, he came with horses and chariots. Moreover, the order of his movements in Canaan shows that Kedor-la'omer struck the field of the Amalekites before he reached Hazezon-tamar, or En-gedi;[2] in other words, that he approached the Dead Sea immediately from the westward, and not directly from the southward. This is inconsistent with his approach to Canaan by way of the 'Arabah; and it was on this advance that he halted at Kadesh.

When the Israelites moved over from Mount Sinai to Kadesh-barnea, they went across the "great and terrible wilderness;"[3] which would not have been the case had they skirted the eastern peninsula into and along the 'Arabah. That "wilderness" must have been the elevated desert-plateau of Et-Teeh. In journeying by the "Way of Mount Seir," they simply took the easternmost

[1] Gen. 14: 5, 6. [2] Gen. 14: 7. [3] Deut. 1: 19.

road out of the Mount Sinai group; a road bearing the name and trending in the direction of Mount Seir, but which they followed no farther than brought them to the border of the wilderness beyond which lay the land of their seeking. They took the Mount Seir Road, but they did not pursue that road to Mount Seir.

The 'Arabah was not one of the ordinary routes from Mount Sinai to Canaan. It was a most unnatural course between those two regions. Far less was it suited to be the line of approach to Canaan for a hostile army. At the best, it was but a rugged highway, shut in between frowning mountains, proffering no opportunity to the invaders to turn aside into any shielded covert near the borders of the objective territory, while reconnoitring and making other preparations for an onward movement. While themselves constantly exposed to sudden attack from flank and rear, they would have before them the strongest and most easily defended natural bulwarks of the enemy, as their only avenue to the land they would enter forcibly.

The idea of such a host as Israel's settling down at a prominent watering-place in a common thoroughfare, to abide there "many days," and that in such a torrent-swept and yet permanently barren region as the 'Arabah, is utterly at variance with any fair conception of the prudence and foresight of Moses and Joshua, or of the unfailing wisdom of their Heavenly Guide.

In the site and surroundings of 'Ayn el-Waybeh, there is no fair correspondence with the Bible descriptions of Kadesh-barnea. No distinct Rock is there, such as that before which the congregation of Israel was gathered by Moses and Aaron, and out from which the accustomed waters were made to flow anew.[1] No site for "a city" is there; nor yet a site for an encircled-stronghold, such as that from which the spies were sent into Canaan,[2] and the messengers to the kings of Edom and Moab.[3] There is no moun-

[1] Num. 20: 7-11. [2] Num. 13: 21-26; Deut. 1: 19-24.
[3] Num. 20: 14-16; Judges 11: 17.

tain near it on the way into Canaan.[1] The nearest mountains are westward, and they are not in the direction of Canaan.[2] The southern mountain-wall of Canaan, up which ascends the Pass es-Sufâh (suggested as the mountain clambered by the rebellious Israelites),[3] is nearly or quite a day's journey northward, and a deep wady intervenes between that and 'Ayn el-Waybeh. There is no trace of the ancient name of Kadesh, or of its meaning, in 'Ayn el-Waybeh or its vicinity. Nor is there a single site identified in that region, of any place which was near Kadesh-barnea. The site of Zephath,[4] for which Es-Sufâh was suggested, has been identified, with a correspondent name, at some distance to the westward; and that is the only site for which any claim was made, except that of a possible identification in case 'Ayn el-Waybeh were accepted for Kadesh-barnea.

As a boundary-line landmark, 'Ayn el-Waybeh does not in any degree conform to the requirements of the Bible mentions of Kadesh-barnea. The latter place is named as on the southern border of Judah, at several removes from the Dead Sea.[5] By all analogy, this would indicate its location as well to the westward of that sea. Again it is named as the central one of three main landmarks between the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean;[6] which would seem to fix it midway, or approximately so, between those two seas. Yet 'Ayn el-Waybeh is well to the southward of the Dead Sea; and the only way of adapting it to a place in the boundary line would be by running a southern line, for some distance, from northerly to southerly, instead of from easterly to westerly, and then making an abrupt turn, almost at a right angle, and passing westward over mountain ranges instead of between them, in a

[1] Deut. 1: 19-24.

[2] See the photograph of 'Ayn el-Waybeh accompanying this. The hills there shown in the distance are westward, not Canaanward.

[3] Num. 14: 39-45.

[4] Comp. Num. 21: 3, and Judges 1: 17.

[5] Josh. 15: 1-3.

[6] Ezek. 47: 19; 48: 28.



NEAR 'AYN EL-WAYBEH.



'AYN EL-WAYBEH.

manner quite unlike the other boundary lines of the Holy Land, or the boundary lines of any other land. Even then, the Bible mention of Kadesh-barnea (as 'Ayn el-Waybeh) as a central point of the southern boundary, would be either most inexplicable or absurd.

Finally, the 'Arabah was not the "Wilderness of Zin;"[1] for the two places are spoken of separately by their own names, in the Mosaic record. The "Way of the Red Sea"[2] is also named as distinct from the "Way of the 'Arabah,"[3] among the roads taken by the Israelites in their journeyings. Nor have we any sound reason for supposing that Edom was ever limited westerly by the 'Arabah; while the proof is well-nigh absolute, that in the days of Moses and earlier it stretched over into the Jebel Muqrâh tract, along the southern border of Canaan; and as a result the upper 'Arabah, 'Ayn el-Waybeh included, was within the territory of Edom; hence Kadesh-barnea could not have been located in the 'Arabah.

In fact, the claims for 'Ayn el-Waybeh, as the site of Kadesh-barnea, all prove baseless on examination; while the objections to that identification increase at every step of investigation; and they are insurmountable.

5. OBJECTIONS TO 'AYN QADEES.

The more prominent objections which have long been urged against 'Ayn Qadees as the site of Kadesh-barnea, are already shown to have had no solid basis in fact, but to have grown out of a misunderstanding, and hence a misrepresenting, of the report of its earliest modern-discoverer. This is true of the claim that Qadees was a misnomer for Qadayrât, and that Qadayrât had no

[1] Comp. Num. 20: 1; Deut. 1: 1.

[2] Num. 14: 25; 21: 4; Deut. 2: 1.

[3] Deut. 2: 8.

mountain at the northward of it, on the road toward Hebron. These objections cannot longer be urged with any show of fairness.

To those persons who believe that the Israelites approached Canaan by the way of the 'Arabah; that Mount Seir was skirted in that approach; and that the 'Arabah was Edom's western border,—the fact that 'Ayn Qadees is on the higher level of the western desert is in itself an insuperable objection to it as the site of Kadesh-barnea.

Again it has been urged, that the Israelites would not have approached Canaan at the centre of its southern border, because of the very openness of that region, and their consequent liability to be met in force as they approached. Robinson even brings up, in this connection, the declaration in Exodus 13: 17, that in bringing the Israelites out of Egypt, "God led them not through the Way of the Land of the Philistines, although that was near; for God said, Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt: but God led the people about, through the Way of the Wilderness of the Red Sea." And Robinson says, that "the object of this circuitous route was to avoid the Philistines;" therefore for them to have approached Canaan by way of 'Ayn Qadayrât and Beersheba, "would have brought the Israelites directly along side of the Philistines, and thus have frustrated the very purpose for which God led them by so great a circuit."[1]

In this suggestion, Robinson leaves out of mind the organization and training of the Israelites at Sinai, after the period of that declaration; and their new life as they moved northward, preceded by the sacred tabernacle, after their experiences of successful combat with the Amalekites.[2] And he seems to forget the assurances newly given to the Israelites, that they were *now* able to enter into the Promised Land's possession.[3] Moreover, the mid-desert road

[1] *Bib. Sac.*, for May, 1849, p. 379.

[2] Exod. 17: 8–13.

[3] Deut. 1: 19–21, 27–31.

to Beersheba and Hebron, was by no means the same as the Philistia Road out of Egypt toward Gaza.

Various other objections to 'Ayn Qadees as the site of Kadesh-barnea have been based on the erroneous identifications of other Bible places; or on misconceptions of the requirements of the Bible text concerning other stations in the record of the wanderings; such for example as the supposed proximity of Kadesh-barnea to Mount Hor or to Ezion-gaber. Again, the uncorrected errors concerning Kadesh-barnea, and its vague descriptions by ancient Jewish and Christian writers who had no personal knowledge of the places they mentioned, have continued to be used as objections against 'Ayn Qadees—as obviously not answering to the requirements of those errors and surmises. In fact, however, the doubts thrown, until very recently, on the precise location of 'Ayn Qadees, have prevented the proposing of intelligent objections to 'Ayn Qadees as the site of Kadesh-barnea. But all the objections which seem entitled to any serious weight, are now before the reader.

6. THE ARGUMENT FOR 'AYN QADEES.

In support of the claim that the site of Kadesh-barnea is identified in 'Ayn Qadees, it is seen, as follows:—

1. The region of 'Ayn Qadees is a strategic stronghold on the southern border of Canaan; immediately accessible from the main road out of the southern desert, Canaanward, yet secluded from it. It is near the trunk-connection of the principal roads into Canaan, at a point convenient for watching or seizing those roads; and it has an inner road northward separate from those roads, and easily held by itself at its single mountain pass.

It has a mountain-encircled plain,[1] of sufficient extent for the

[1] Of course there are ways of entrance and egress at several points; and the wady drains itself, westerly, into one of the branches of Wady el-'Areesh; but, as a whole, it is mountain-shielded, and the avenues to it could be easily guarded.

encampment of such an army as Kedor-la'omer's, or such a host as Israel's. That plain is arable, capable of an extensive grain or grazing supply, and with adjoining wells of the best water. It is a region where a mighty host could abide many days; and as such a region it stands absolutely alone among all the localities yet discovered on the southern border of Canaan, or near that border.

It is just such a stronghold as would be seized by a strategist of to-day, who should approach the Holy Land from the southward, with a view to the military capture and occupancy of that land. It is the place of places to have been occupied by Kedor-la'omer on his campaign, or by Moses and Joshua in their onward movement toward Canaan. If Hobab did not know of this place, the Lord did; and it would be strange if, having formed such a strategic stronghold on the borders of the land he was preparing for his people, he did not lead them to it, when the fulness of time for the purpose of its fitting had arrived.

2. 'Ayn Qadees, with its adjoining plain, is the southernmost and central point of the obvious natural boundary line along the southern border of Canaan, from the lower end of the Dead Sea to the outgoings of Wady el-'Areesh into the Mediterranean.

The Smooth Mountain, which forms the northern wall of Wady Feqreh, is unmistakably the southern wall of Canaan, westerly of the southern tongue of the Dead Sea. The boundary line thus begun at its eastern end, runs, by its natural course, along Wady Feqreh, until that wady loses itself in Wady Madurah at the point where Jebel Madurah—the Mountain the Mountain—forms a pivot, or a hinge, for a turn southward into the region where 'Ayn Qadees is a new pivotal landmark, midway of this southern boundary line from sea to sea. Thence, onward, the natural border line passes into Wady el-'Areesh—which is, and from time immemorial has been, the southwestern border line of Canaan, Egyptward.

This natural boundary line stands alone as a possible natural

border limit of Canaan southward. And 'Ayn Qadees stands at the centre of this line, just as the Bible description fixes the location of Kadesh-barnea.

3. Accepting 'Ayn Qadees as the site of Kadesh-barnea, secures, also, the identification of every other landmark, in its order, along the southern boundary line of Canaan, according to the Bible text.

Beginning at the tongue of the Dead Sea "that looketh southward," the Ascent of 'Akrabbim, the Wilderness of Zin, Kadesh-barnea, Hezron, 'Adar, Karka'a, 'Azmon, the Wady of Egypt, the terminal outgoing at the Mediterranean;[1] all the landmarks of that boundary are identified, without any forcing. And the best that can be said of any other proposed identification of Kadesh-barnea is, that no success has been had, in connection with it, in pointing out the other border landmarks even tentatively; for an error at the central or pivotal point makes a hopeless tangle of the rest of the line.

4. To identify Kadesh-barnea at 'Ayn Qadees, is to render clear the movements of the Israelites toward, and away from, the southern border of Canaan; as no other identification of this site has done.

It would appear from the Bible text, and the latest explorations of the region in question, that when the Israelites took their departure from Mount Sinai, they journeyed by the easternmost of the three roads Canaanward; a road known as the Mount Seir Road. Passing, on this road, along Wady ez-Zulaqah and by Wady el-'Ayn, they turned into Wady el 'Ateeyeh, and thence descended to the plateau of the Desert et-Teeh. They were now upon the "great and terrible wilderness" of the peninsula, and they swept across it to the southern base of the Jebel Muqrâh range.

The *first* encampment of the Israelites after leaving Mount

[1] Num. 34: 3-5; Josh. 15: 1-4.

Sinai, as noted in their list of stations,[1] was Kibroth-hattaavah, at a three-days journey from their starting point. That station was probably southward of the Jebel et-Teeh range, which divides the lower peninsula from the mid-desert. It may have been at Erways el-Ebayrig, as suggested by Palmer.

The *second* encampment was at Hazeroth, the "Place of Enclosures."[2] It has been common, since the days of Robinson, to identify this station with 'Ayn el-Hudhera, also southward of Jebel et-Teeh; but there seems good reason for distrusting this identification, on the ground of its location and approaches.[3] It would, indeed, seem more probable that this second formal encampment was at the northern side of the Desert et-Teeh; perhaps at the southeastern portion of the Jebel Muqrâh tract; a region which has been but casually examined by modern travelers, but of which enough is known to suggest its fitness for a camping-place. 'Ayn esh-Shehâbeh, one of the proposed sites of Kadesh-barnea, is there. A road has been discovered, running into the mountain tract from the Desert et-Teeh, not far to the eastward of that spring.[4] This road *may* be the Way of the Mountain of the Amorites, or the Amorite Hill-country Road, by which the Israelites are said to have approached Kadesh-barnea.[5] And just there, is a far more probable locality for Hazeroth (for the protecting "Enclosures" of border-settlers), than any site in mid-desert, or in the shielding-mountains south of the desert.

It is a noteworthy fact, as bearing on this suggestion, that the Arabs who to-day occupy that southeastern portion of the Jebel Muqrâh tract bear a name which corresponds with the Hebrew

[1] Num. 33: 1–49. [2] See page 280 *f.*, *supra.*

[3] See page 78, *supra.*

This "'Ayn el-Hudhera" may be the Well of an Enclosure; a living spring in a mountain-enclosed basin; but it is not a place of, nor yet a place for, pastoral enclosures, such as the Hebrew term, Hazeroth, would indicate.

[4] See page 82 *f.*, *supra.* [5] Deut. 1: 19.

"Hivites," or "Villagers." Holland, in reporting his last trip to the northern desert says: "Jebel Mugrâh belongs to the territory of Haiwat Arabs, and not to that of the 'Azâzimeh, as has generally been stated."[1] And Robinson, or rather Eli Smith, has shown that this word "Haywât" (its singular being "Haywy") corresponds closely with "Hivite."[2] It would seem, indeed, that the Bible designations of Midianite,[3] Perizzite and Hivite, correspond with the modern designations of Bed'wy, Fellah and Haywy; the desert-Arab, the life-long peasant, and the temporarily-settled (or sojourning) Arab. In olden time, as now, the border-line between the Midianite, or Bed'wy, and the Perizzite, or Fellah, was likely to be occupied by the Dweller in Enclosures, the Hivite, or Haywy. Accordingly, the vestiges of the ancient Hazerim are still to be found along the southern border of Palestine, near the desert,[4] and again along the eastern borders of Central Palestine,[5] as exposed to desert-approaches by way of the fords of the Jordan.[6] This would make probable the existence of Hazeroth (the Place of Hazerim) there at the southeastern portion of the Jebel Muqrâh tract; especially if the Way of the Mountain of the Amorites, as taken by the Israelites, passed up along there.

At all events, wherever Hazeroth may have been, and whether

[1] *Report of Brit. Assoc.*, for 1878, p. 622 *ff.*

[2] "Arabic Index" in *Bib. Res.*, III., Append. p. 211, first ed. [3] Gen. 37: 28.

[4] See page 290, *supra*. Thus the inhabitants of Dhahareeyeh (which is to-day a border town of Palestine, desertward) are of Bed'ween stock, although a settled people, and they would repel the suggestion that their settled life brings them to the level of Fellaheen. They call themselves "Hudhr" or villagers, or townspeople (or Hivites). See Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, I., 211; Wilson's *Lands of Bible*, I., 351.

[5] See page, 281 *f.*, *supra*.

[6] See Judges 6: 3–6; 7: 1, 12. Jabin, the Canaanitish king, or shaykh, who oppressed Israel in the days of Deborah, is said to have "reigned in Hazor" (Judges 4: 2). It is not improbable that his people were sojourning-Bed'ween from the east of the Jordan, living in Hazerim, within the borders of Central Canaan. The place of his head-quarters finally came to be a permanent town, with a trace of its earlier character retained in its name. Sisera was "captain of the host of Hazor" (1 Sam. 12: 9).

the Israelites passed into the 'Azâzimeh mountain tract from that southeastern corner, near Jebel Muqrâh, or kept on along the southern face of that tract until they rounded Jebel Arâeef en-Nâqah,—their *third* encampment was at the strategic stronghold (within that tract), then known as Rithmah, afterwards as Kadesh, yet later as En-mishpat, later still as Meribah-Kadesh, and now as Wady Qadees.

From Kadesh-barnea the spies went northward by the northern mountain-road, which was probably a continuation of the Amorite Hill Country Road, but which, either thenceforward bore their name, or was already known as the Way of Atharcem, or the Way of the Tracks.[1] Their report provoked the rebellion of the Israelites. Then followed the foolhardy venture of that people up that same mountain-road, and their defeat at Esau's old Land of Seir. After this, came the well-nigh forty years of nomadic life, with Kadesh-barnea as the pivot of the wanderings. Glimpses of the different encampments of the tabernacle and the priestly headquarters on their circuit, meantime, are given in the next seventeen stations in the formal list of encampments.

As the appointed period of the wanderings drew near its close, the tabernacle, with its attendant ministry, removed from Ezion-gaber, near the northern end of the eastern arm of the Red Sea (the extremest limit of the wanderin[illegible]ore the final move Canaan-ward), and re-entered the sanct[illegible]hold of Kadesh-Barnea; probably passing in by the Way[illegible]Mountain of the Amorites, from the southeastern corner of the Jebel Muqrâh tract.[3] "*Then*

[1] The word *athareem* (אֲתָרִים) at Num. 21: 1, translated "spies" in the King James Version, occurs nowhere else in the Old Testament. There really seems no justification for its rendering as "spies." "Tracks," or "monuments" (indicating a way marked or "blazed" by signal cairns, after a manner still common in that region), would be justified from the Chaldaic *athar* (אֲתַר) "a place," or "a track." See Gesenius and Fürst, *s. v.*

[2] Judges 11: 16. [3] Num. 33: 36.

came [again] the children of Israel, even the whole congregation, [from their scattered tenting-places in the wadies near and far] into the desert of Zin, in the first month [of the fortieth year of the exodus]: and the people abode in Kadesh;"[1] and they made new history there.

There Miriam died; and was buried. From the unusual and sudden demand upon the wells, or from an exceptional drought, the waters of 'Ayn Qadees failed the people. Then, at God's direction, Moses and Aaron gathered the assembly before the cliff from under which the wells were supplied, and the miracle of the new-flowing water followed. For their sin at that time, the two leaders were sentenced to die outside of the Land of Promise;[2] for the final entering of which, preparations were now made speedily.

The line of contemplated advance into Canaan at this time was a new one. Not, as seemed to be the plan thirty-eight years before, directly northward by way of Beersheba and Hebron, but northeasterly, around the lower end of the Dead Sea, through the principal highway of Edom, or through the road between Edom and Moab, was the now purposed course. The first move was up along the natural boundary-line of Canaan, from Kadesh-barnea, through the Wilderness of Zin, to the boundary-hinge at Jebel Madurah on the plain of Moserah; the junction of wadies Murrah and Madurah; and this move was made while messengers were on their way to the kings of Edom and Moab, asking permission for the purposed traversing of the territory of those kings.[3] There at Jebel Madurah, or Mount Hor, on that isolated and remarkable mountain, at the very border line of the Land of Promise yet outside of it, Aaron died and was buried; and before that mountain, on the borders of Edom yet not within Edom's line, the people mourned for thirty days over the loss of their faithful high-

[1] Num. 20: 1.

[2] Num. 20: 12.

[3] Num. 20: 14; Judges 11: 17.

priest.[1] Meantime, this forward movement of re-gathered Israel alarmed both the Edomites on the one hand, and the neighboring Canaanites on the other. Edom's king refused his consent to Israel's passing through his territory, and he came down against Israel in force; "wherefore Israel turned away from him;"[2] turned about from Jebel Madurah and moved back southwesterly along the course which had been taken thitherward. And as the Israelites turned back, at this time, the Canaanitish king of Arad came down against them, and struck at them, probably at their rear as they were moving off, "and took some of them prisoners."[3]

By whatever course the Israelites had originally entered Kadesh, or Rithmah, they evidently went out from that region by the westerly route; for it is said, that "they journeyed from Mount Hor," at this time, "by the Way of the Red Sea, to compass the land of Edom."[4] In other words, they passed down along by Jebel 'Arâeef en-Nâqah, and struck the Red Sea Road, or the Hajj route, so that they could sweep well clear of the western possessions of Edom; not even skirting them by the Way of the Mountain of the Amorites. This took them across the Desert et-Teeh, almost its entire stretch from west to east; "and the soul of the people was much discouraged because of the [Hajj] Road," in its desolateness. Reaching the eastern edge of the desert, they descended to the 'Arabah, and thence in due time they passed around the southern extremity of the mountains of Seir, by the Way of the 'Arabah, and turned northward along the eastern borders of Seir and Moab,[5] until they were finally opposite the Jordan at the Plains of Moab.[6]

Whatever changes of minor details, in this identification of the course and journeyings of the Israelites, may be necessitated through

[1] Num. 20: 22-29; Deut. 10: 6.
[2] Num. 20: 18-21. [3] Num. 20: 1; 33: 40.
[4] Num. 21: 4; Deut. 1: 40; Judges 11: 18.
[5] Deut. 2: 1-8. [6] Num. 22: 1.

fuller researches in that region in the future, it is evident that the Bible narrative as a whole is found consistent with the location of Kadesh-barnea at 'Ayn Qadees, as it is not with any other identification suggested.

5. The features and the name of 'Ayn Qadees correspond with the Bible references to Kadesh-barnea; as is the case with no other site proposed.

Wady Qadees is itself a "city," in the probable meaning of the Hebrew word thus translated; an encircled fastness among the mountains, easily guarded at a few entrance-passes. And ancient ruins round about it still mark it as a place of old-time occupancy. The water of the fountains of Qadees flows from under just such a Rock, or Cliff, as would be indicated by the term Sel'a, the Hebrew designation of the Kadesh-Rock—known afterwards as Reqam. And that Rock stands, as it were, in the inner sanctuary; in the adytum of the larger Kadesh tabernacle, where the leaders and representatives of the Israelites might have been gathered to witness the miracle of the new water-flow.

The camping-field is there; there, also, is the mountain pass northward. Nothing is lacking in the features of the place itself, to complete its correspondence with the descriptions and intimations of the Bible text.

Just outside of this sanctuary-stronghold, the name Rithmah, the earlier name of the district of Kadesh, is still to be found, in its Arabic equivalent, Aboo Retemât. And the place itself bears the equivalent name of Kadesh in three-fold form, as Jebel Qadees, Wady Qadees, and 'Ayn Qadees. Moreover, neither Qadees nor Retemât—Kadesh or Rithmah—is to be found elsewhere in all that region. Even though too much dependence ought not to be put on the preservation of such names as these, it must be admitted by all, that when the proof of the location of Rithmah and Kadesh in just that vicinity is made reasonably conclusive, by independent evidence, it is certainly no objection to the identification to find

that the ancient names are still to be found there, as held and repeated by the unchanging people of that region.

7. FAIR CONCLUSIONS.

In view of all the facts before us, there are certain conclusions which must be admitted as fair, if not recognized as inevitable.

1. The site of Kadesh-barnea seems identified at 'Ayn Qadees. Every requirement of the Bible-narrative, and every condition insisted on by the critics as essential to the identification, are met in this place. Every objection, also, that has been raised against this identification, is found to have no force in the light of close examination.

2. This identification, with its linkings, necessitates the re-shaping of much of the geography of the southern border of Palestine and the neighboring regions, as indicated in the maps, cyclopedias, commentaries, and guide-books, now in common use. For example, as the westernmost limit of Edom is not indicated in the Bible except by its relation to Kadesh-barnea, that limit now passes from an unknown to a known quantity, by the fixing of a site which is described as just beyond it. So, also, the traditional Mount Hor must be recognized as an impossible Mount Hor; and the central and northern 'Arabah must no longer be counted a main camping-ground of the Israelites in their wanderings.

3. It is clearer than ever, that many of the supposed confusions of geographical data in the Pentateuch, are the results of later error concerning the region in question. And there is even stronger reason than before for believing, that Moses and Hobab were more familiar with the desert of Sinai and the Negeb border of Canaan, than the wisest of the destructive critics of to-day.

4. The latest discoveries in the region of Kadesh-barnea tend to indicate how much need there is of a fuller and more intelligent

survey of all that region. An unmistakable inference from that which has thus far been shown concerning that region is, that there is much more yet to be learned; and, surely the lovers of biblical research ought not to rest satisfied until the steps are taken for its learning.

SUPPLEMENTAL NOTE.

After the first (American) edition of this work was published, the posthumous notes of the Rev. F. W. Holland's last journey in the desert and the Negeb, were made public in the "Quarterly Statement" of the Palestine Exploration Fund, for January, 1884. From these notes, it would appear that Mr. Holland visited 'Ayn Qadees, in May, 1878. He does not, however, seem to have been aware of the importance of that visit, or of the fact that the site he visited had so long been an object of unsuccessful search.

In reporting his journey to the Victoria Institute (see *Journ. of Trans.*, Vol. XIV., p. 11) a year after his return, Mr. Holland said of the Jebel Muqrâh tract: "Here we must place Kadesh-barnea, but whether at the south-eastern point, near the head of Wady Garaiyeh, where there is a road running northwards, or on the western side at Ain Kadeis, further explorations must determine. The name of the latter place is a strong point in its favor, and there is abundance of water and vegetation in its neighborhood, and many traces of ancient habitations. *I had hoped that I should have been able to settle this point last year, but the disturbed state of the country, owing to constant raids of the Arabs from the east of the Arabah, and the excessive drought prevented my exploring the southern face of Jebel Mugrah;* when this has been done, this important question will, I trust, be set at rest." In this address, as officially reported, Mr. Holland made no mention of 'Ayn Qadees

as visited by him; but in answer to a question by the Right Rev. Bishop Perry, he said that "*he had intended to go north to Kadesh, but had been prevented,* and he therefore struck out to the west." This justified me in believing that Holland had not visited Rowlands's site; and although, in another address, before the British Association, he told of a visit to Wady "Kadeis," (see *Quart. State.*, April, 1879, p. 69), and even mentioned "Ain Kadeis" he did not say that he saw the latter, and his phraseology led me, in view of his other address, to think that he was describing it on hearsay, as Palmer had done.

It is certainly true, that on my return to England from the East in the spring of 1881, Professor Palmer, and other specialists well informed of the discoveries in that region, were not aware of the fact that the site described by Rowlands had been re-discovered before my finding it; nor was the fact of Mr. Holland's visit to it brought out through the announcement of my discovery, in the "Quarterly Statement" for July, 1881.

But there is now added confirmation of my report, by the description in the posthumous notes of Mr. Holland, as well as in the sketch of the great camping ground of Wady Qadees, which accompanies those notes. His guides gave him two names—Wady "Jaifeh," and Wady "Kadeis"—for the eastern and western portions of the great rolling plain divided by "a ridge, or series of rolling gravel hills" (see p. 271 *supra*), for which the one name, Wady Qadees, was given to me by Owdy. The fact that Holland's visit was six weeks later in the season than mine, gave to him a somewhat less attractive show of verdure in the oasis; although the two descriptions are not materially at variance.

THE ROUTE OF THE EXODUS.



A SPECIAL STUDY.

THE ROUTE OF THE EXODUS.

1. THE BARRIER TO ISRAEL'S PASSAGE.

Among the many linkings of Kadesh, there is a linking with Shur. Abraham, as a pilgrim, is said to have passed a time between Kadesh and Shur.[1] Kadesh is found to have been a sanctuary-stronghold on the borders of the Land of Promise; and Shur is found to have been a fortified wall across the eastern borders of Egypt.[2] And as Kadesh proves to be the key to the Israelitish wanderings, so Shur proves to be the key to the exodus of the Israelites. The primary barrier to the exodus was not the Red Sea, but the Great Wall; and the Red Sea was opened, because the Great Wall was closed.

A starting-point of a proper study of the route of the exodus is, therefore, that border-barrier of Egypt which stayed the Israelites in their flight. From what is clearly shown on the monuments and in the papyri concerning that Great Wall itself, together with what is indicated of similar fortifications of its time, we are enabled to picture its stretch and its main features with tolerable exactness.

In view of its importance as a border-line fortification, with the methods of warfare and the standards of building as they were in that day, that Wall must have been massive in its structure and

[1] Gen. 20: 2. [2] See pages 46–58, *supra*.

formidable in its appointments. In addition to the many incidental references to the walls and gates of Thebes and Memphis, which abound in the old records,[1] as illustrative of the measure of strength and finish deemed desirable in structures of this character, there is preserved a monumental reference to one of the Pharaohs as a protector of the exposed borders of Egypt, which shows clearly the standard then for a border-wall of the Fortified Land.[2] It reads: "Thou art for it as a fortified Wall of granite, whose battlements are square stone, and every gate of it is iron. The strangers enter not into it." And that such, substantially, was the Great Wall of Egypt, there is reason for supposing.[3] That this Wall would be strongly garrisoned, and closely guarded along its entire stretch, is what we might suppose from the military habits of a people so much in warfare as the Egyptians; and the record of it stands explicitly, that there were "watchers upon the Wall in daily rotation."[4] Moreover, such a Wall would of necessity be doubly strengthened and supplemented by added fortresses (or "khetams"), and by special towers ("migdols" or "bekhens") of observation and defense, at each and all of the great highways which it covered and along which an enemy would be likely to approach in force from the North or from the East. Nor are refer-

[1] See, *e. g.*, "Inscription of Pianchi Mer-Amon," in *Rec. of Past*, II., 94–97; "Annals of Rameses III.," *Ibid*, VIII., 6, 8, 9, 10, 25, 26, 27. "They proceeded to fortify Memphis with a great bulwark made by skilful artizans, and a moat round the eastern quarter. No point of attack was found therein."

[2] See Brugsch's *Hieroglyph. Demot. Wörterb.*, I., 335 *f.*, *s. v.*, "Uarma."
Ebers quotes this in its significancy (*Ægypt. u. die Büch. Mose's*, p. 82 *f.*, note).

[3] The question of the strange lack of monumental ruins in the Delta, where granite was largely used in building, is treated by Zincke, in his *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, pp. 266–284.

[4] See "The Story of Saneha," in *Rec. of Past*, VI., 135. "There, stood [on the eastern border of Egypt], from the days before Abraham, the fortresses, carefully constructed on principles we are pleased in our ignorance to call modern, with scarp and counter-scarp, and ditch and glacis, well manned by the best troops, the sentinel on the ramparts day and night." (Poole's *Cities of Egypt*, p. 66.)

ences to these fortresses and towers lacking in either the Egyptian or the Hebrew records.[1]

Yet before tracking these towers and outworks, and the highways which they covered, it is important to recognize another name than Shur by which the Great Wall is referred to in the Bible narrative; for this other name has an important bearing on the story and route of the exodus.

2. KHETAM AND ETHAM.

When the Israelites were fairly beyond the confines of Egypt, through their miraculous passage of the Red Sea, it is said that "they went out into the wilderness of Shur; and they went three days in the wilderness, and found no water."[2] Recognizing in the wilderness of Shur the wilderness beyond the Great Wall of Egypt, this statement is easily understood. But in another record of their wanderings, it is said that the Israelites "passed through the midst of the sea into the wilderness, and went three days' journey in the wilderness of Etham."[3] Here the term "Etham" is substituted for the term "Shur;" and this substitution has been a perplexity to Bible commentators as well as to Egyptian students. Yet it is a point which seems capable of a simple and satisfactory explanation.

[1] For references to such fortresses and towers, see Wilkinson's *Anc. Egyptians*, I., 267 *ff.*; *Rec. of Past*, II., 94–97; VIII., 9, 25, 27; Brugsch's *Dic. Géog.*, s. v., "Makthâl"; his *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 237, 239; II., 13, 380 *f.*, 387; Gen. 11: 4; Judges 9: 51; 2 Kings 9: 17; 18: 8; 2 Chron. 26: 9, 10, 15; Isa. 32: 14; Jer 6: 27; etc.

"Special attention," says Brugsch, "was devoted to the fortresses eastward of Tanis, which covered the entrance from Syria." (*Hist. of Egypt*, II., 138.) Again (*Ibid.*, II., 98) he speaks of "the entrance of the great road" from the East as "covered by 'khetams,' or fortresses."

[2] Exod. 15: 22.

[3] Num. 33: 8.

Etham is another name for the Great Wall of Egypt. This important fact seems to have long escaped the attention of scholars; even those scholars whose investigations were furnishing the evidence for its proving. Ebers, discerning and accurate as always, was the first to catch a glimpse of this truth;[1] yet he was not prompted to follow up his discovery to its more important legitimate conclusions; and the truth in its varied connections still waits for that clearing, and that showing, which a fair examination will not fail to secure for it.[2]

Both Ebers[3] and Brugsch[4] have claimed that the Etham of the Hebrew text is identical with the Khetam of the Egyptian monuments; and they have shown that while the latter word is a common name for "fortress," or "closure," there was evidently a Khetam at the east of the Delta which was distinguished on the monuments as pre-eminently "the Khetam of Zor," or Tar; the Fortification, or Closure, of Lower Egypt.[5] Moreover, Brugsch has shown that "the Egyptian texts, in agreement with the notices of the classic writers, speak only of towns and forts *on the frontier;*"[6] hence the Khetam of Zor is the Border-Barrier, or Closure, of Mazor, toward the eastern desert; or as the Hebrews would designate it, the "Etham, which is in [or at] the edge of the wilderness."[7]

And Brugsch has shown[8] that Khetam, in the plural form,

[1] *Gosen zum Sinai*, pp. 99, 110, 521, 522; *Ægypt. u. die Büch. Mose's*, p. 81.

[2] I ought, perhaps, to say just here, that I first arrived at this identification of Etham with the Great Wall, by an independent process of investigation, before I was aware that it had been suggested by Ebers. Yet I have now revised my entire statement of it, in order to give full place to the light shed on it by Ebers. It will be seen, however, that I undertake to carry out the process of proof more fully than Ebers attempted.

[3] *Gosen zum Sinai*, pp. 99, 522.

[4] *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 12, 387.

[5] Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 387; also his *Dict. Géog.*, p. 637 *ff.*

[6] *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 381.

[7] Exod. 13: 20; Num. 33: 6.

[8] *Dict. Géog.*, p. 647.

"Khetamu"[1] ("Fortifications"), "is met with very often in the [Egyptian] texts, without the addition of a proper geographical name, which would define its topographical position;" yet where the context, or some accompanying appellative, would show that the term is employed as a proper name, rather than as a common noun. Thus, in one of the famous Anastasi Papyri, which Brugsch has translated,[2] there is found a report to a ruler of the Nineteenth Dynasty, by a subordinate who has "allowed the tribes of the Shasu of the country of Aduma [Edom], to pass through the strong fort Pa-Khetamu [the Fortifications] of the king Minep-tah" in the land of Thukoo. As Brugsch says of this writing, it was made "certainly with the view on the part of the writer of giving to his superior a report on the admission of foreign immi-grants *to the Egyptian soil;*" hence the conclusion is a fair one, if indeed it be not an inevitable one, that the border "Fortifications" which those immigrants were permitted to pass through, were the Fortifications of the border; the Great Wall of Mazor. And as Thukoo seems to have been a district, or region of country (with Pithom as its capital, or chief city[3]) at or near the eastern border of Lower Egypt,[4] it accords well with all the known facts in the case to find the Khetam of Zor, and the Khetam of Thukoo, and the Khetam of Meneptah, as portions, or as appurtenances, of the Great Wall—the Khetamoo of the eastern border of Egypt—which is upon the edge of the wilderness.

There are various other references in the papyri to the Khe-tamoo, as to the well-known Border-Barrier of Lower Egypt, desertward. Thus, for another example,[5] a father writes of his son's recall to the boundary of his own land (when the son had

[1] A terminal *u* (or *oo*) is the ordinary sign of a plural noun or adjective, in the old Egyptian language.

[2] See *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 247; also *Dict. Géog.*, p. 642.

[3] *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 232 *f.*

[4] See Ebers's *Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 520.

[5] *Anast. Pap.*, V., 13, as translated in Brugsch's *Dict. Géog.*, p. 649.

started out, like Saneha,[1] beyond "the Frontier Wall which the king had made to keep off the Sakti"): "My son, who was on his way to Phœnicia, I have caused to return towards the Khetamu [the "Fortifications"] with his companions, *to re-enter Egypt.*" Here, as in other cases, the Khetamoo would seem to be just such a well-defined border-barrier as we know the Great Wall to have been.

But if added proof in this direction were still asked for, it could be found with equal explicitness on the pictured monuments, as in the written papyri. On the outer wall of the great hall of the Temple at Karnak, there is a series of sculptured designs, representing the great campaign of Setee I. in the north and in the east.[2] In one of these designs the king is shown as having reached the border of his own land, bringing with him many captives and other spoils of victory. As he passes through the open gates of the Fortifications, and crosses the bridge which spans the Great Canal within, he is welcomed by the priests and the princes of Egypt with rejoicings and with tributes of gratitude. The inscriptions accompanying this picture show that the fortification which the king is immediately passing is the famous "Khetam of Zor;" the Border-Barrier of Mazor.[3] It certainly is most improbable that the priests and people of Egypt would be represented as waiting inside a detached interior fortress for the king to enter its gates. But it is a most probable supposition, that the king's passing through the gateway of the Great Wall, which we know bordered the land of Egypt in the direction of his coming, would be recognized and pictured as his return to his land and his people. And as if to make it clear beyond all controversy that it *is* the border Wall of Egypt to which the king has now returned in

[1] See page 47 *f.*, *supra.*

[2] Reproduced in Lepsius's *Denkm.*, Abth. III., *Bl.* 126 and 128.

[3] See Ebers's *Ægypt. u. die Büch. Moses*, p. 80 *f.*; also Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 19.

triumph, the inscription gives the very words of the king's marshal in proclaiming the royal victories; and those words show that the triumph has been over the hostile Shasoo[1]—the Arabs, or Bed'ween, or Asiatics—whose sweep was "from the Khetam of Zor [or Tar] to Kan'aan."[2]

As the enemies of Egypt were not at this time *inside* the Great Wall of its eastern border,[3] it would here seem evident that the Khetam of Zor, from which their western boundary began, was identical at one point at least with the Great Wall itself. And if the Khetam of Zor, or the Khetamoo, and the Great Wall were identical at any one point, it is natural that the designation of Khetam, or Khetamoo, should come to apply to the Great Wall all the way along its course; so that that line would be spoken of interchangeably as the Fortifications, or as the Wall.

Being influenced by his newer geographical theories of the route

[1] "The Shashous, or Schasu, was a generic term applied to the Arab or Bedouin tribes who inhabited the desert between Syria and the northeastern frontier of Egypt; they were a great source of annoyance to the Egyptian kings, and were conquered, but only for a short time, by Amenhotep I., of the Eighteenth, and Seti I., of the Nineteenth Dynasties." (Note to the "Inscription of Nes-Hor," by Paul Pierret, *Rec. of Past*, VI., 83.)

[2] See Lepsius's *Denkm.*, Abth. III., Bl. 126, *a.*; Brugsch's *Dict. Geog.*, p. 591 *f.*

[3] Brugsch (*Hist. of Egypt*, II., 12) would infer from this picture, "that the Shasu had pressed forward westward quite into the proper Egyptian territory;" and this idea is again expressed by him in Vol. II., p. 132, of his *History*. But his own explanation of the record of Setee's campaign shows, that at this very time the Egyptian strongholds were occupied outside of the Great Wall, even beyond Ostracine to Absaqab; and it is evident that while Aahmes and Amenhotep had expelled the Shasoo and re-walled them out from the Delta, Setee had now undertaken the subjugation of them in their roamings, *from* the Great Wall, or border Fortification, of his domain, to Kana'an, a strong fortress of their remoter stretch. This fortress of Kana'an has been much in doubt. It is pictured as crowning a hill-top, with a lake near it. Brugsch (following Haigh) has strangely enough proposed to find it in the 'Arabah, and has suggested the Dead Sea for the lake (*Hist. of Egypt*. I., 248; II., 13 *f*). But the route of Setee was up northeasterly toward Philistia, not out easterly across the desert; as the places which *are* known, in the sculptured record, abundantly prove. And this fortress of "Kana'an" is again referred to as in the "land of

of the exodus, Brugsch has latterly[1] supposed that the Khetam of Zor of this triumphal representation at Karnak, is a double fortress at some distance westward of the line of the Great Wall. He even says now that, "according to this drawing, the strong place of Khetam was situated on both banks of a river (the Pelusiac arm of the Nile)," [2] a stream "swarming with crocodiles, and with [its] banks covered with reeds." [3] Birch [4] (whose high attainments in Egyptian studies are less marked in the realm of geographical details[5]) follows Brugsch in this surprising state-

Zahi," which comprised the Philistine and Phœnician country (*Hist. of Egypt*, II., 164, 420); and yet again, as on the road to Aranatu, or the Orontes (See *Rec. of Past*, II., 51). Recently, Conder has proposed to identify its site at Khurbet Kan'ân, near Hebron (*Quart. State.*, of Pal. Expl. Fund, Oct. 1883, p. 175); but that site does not correspond with the pictured representation of a fortress, on a detached hill, with a lake near it. A better correspondence so far would be found in Mount Tabor, from the summit of which there is seen the Lake of Galilee, which is called in the Egyptian records the Lake of Kaina (See *Rec. of Past* II., 42, 43); and near the base of which, indeed, the sources of the Kishon form as it were a lake, after a rain. This fortress is afterwards called Dapur; but it was specifically *the* fortress of the Plain of the Kana'an; the stronghold of the plains of that region including the great Plain of Esdraelon. It is not necessary to suppose that the Edomitish Shasoo were the only enemies vanquished by Setee. He began with *them*, at his own border Wall, and swept on through the land of Zahi, and up to the key-fortress of the plains near the Lake of Galilee, smiting whomsoever he met on the way. Yet the Midianites and Amalekites, and children of the East, (the Shasoo,) had sway in the days of Judges, up to that very region (Comp. Judges 4: 1-13; 5: 14, 19-21; 6: 1-5, 33); as they may have had in the days of Setee.

[1] Brugsch's *Geographie* (Tafel XLVIII.) shows that he had another opinion as to this Khetam, before adopting his later theory of the exodus.

[2] *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 387. [3] *Ibid.*, II., 12. [4] *Egypt*, p. 115.

[5] As, for instance, when he would find in the Egyptian "Gailu," or "Taru," or "Garu," "the frontier town of Egypt, probably Heroopolis, if it is not Pithom, which has been at all times the frontier and key of Egypt" (*Egypt*, p. 115); and again in the same place would find "Pelusium or Tsur" (*Rec. of Past*. II., 38, note), which as "Sin" has generally been counted the "key to Egypt;" and yet again would find in this same "Pithom" (*Egypt*, p. 125) "the citadel of Tanis," or Zoan, and this as a stronghold in the line of the Great Wall of Sesostris; and once more would find in this Gailu—Khetam—Heroopolis—Pelusium—Tsur—Sin—Pithom—Tanis—the dwel-

ment.[1] A fatal objection to this theory would seem to be found in an inscription on the famous picture itself, declaring that the water which the victorious king is crossing is *not* a branch of the Nile, but *is* "*Ta-Tenât*," "The Cutting;"[2] the Great Canal which was doubtless protected by the Great Wall, or the Khetamoo of Zor, in the days of this Pharaoh.[3]

As Ebers has suggested, this Karnak picture, "in spite of its apparent simplicity and *naïveté*, is of the greatest significance and importance."[4] Its value in the settling of several questions concerning the route of the exodus is even greater than has been generally recognized, even after what Ebers has said of it. That Brugsch could not deny the force of this hieroglyphic reference to "the cutting," is shown in the fact that in his "Geographie des Alten Ægyptens"[5] he gave a sketch of the Karnak picture, and marked as the "*Kanal von Heroopolis*" the very stream which he now calls "the Pelusiac arm of the Nile;" and at the same time he marked the water into which this canal entered as "*Der heutige Birket Timseh See*" ("the modern Lake Timseh"). But that was before his adoption of an old-time theory of the exodus required of Brugsch a re-arranging of the identifications of sites in Lower Egypt, and an "improvement" on the plain declarations of the hieroglyphic inscriptions.[6]

ling place of "the hostile Shasu" in the days of Setee I. (*Egypt*, p. 114). Or yet again, when he would find Saneha stopping at "a town in Lower Egypt of the 13th, or Heliopolite nome," some time after he had passed the Great Wall, and entered the thirsty desert (*Rec. of Past.* VI., 136, note).

[1] And Geikie (*Hours with the Bible*, II., 172 *f.*) actually crosses the *Tanitic* arm of the Nile on this bridge. Can he have been misled by the Egyptian designation of the canal—*Ta-Tenat?*



[2] The inscription is between the banks of the pictured stream (See Lepsius's *Denkm.*, Abth. III., Bl. 128, *a*), in the form here given in the margin. [3] See p. 51 *f.*, *supra*.

[4] *Pict. Egypt*, II., 23. [5] Tafel XLVIII.

[6] Brugsch, indeed, comes back to the "Cutting" idea in his later *Geographical Dictionary* (p. 591).

Once more, the famous poem of Pentaur (a copy of which appears on another face of the same wall at Karnak which presents the sculptured records of Setee) brings out the fact that Khetam [or Khetamoo] was the Great Wall of Egypt. Beginning with the accustomed tribute to the king[1] (Rameses II.), whose heroic exploits are now to be recorded, the poem details the preparations for a great campaign, as preliminary to the move from the Pharaonic capital.[2] "After the king had armed his people and his chariots, and in like manner the Shardonians, which were once his prisoners, ... then was the order given them for the battle. The king took his way downwards, and his people and his chariots accompanied him, and followed the best road on their march." And they came to the borders of the Walled Land. Only the Great Wall itself was to be passed before they were on the desert-road northward. "In the fifth year, on the ninth day of the month Payni, the fortress of Khetam of the Land of Zar [the Fortifications of the Walled Land[3]] opened to the king. . . . As if he had been the god of war, Monthu himself, the whole world trembled [at his approach], and terror seized all enemies who came near to bow themselves before the king. And his warriors passed by the path of the desert, and went on along the roads of the north." The Great Wall itself being recognized in the Khetam [or Khetamoo] here mentioned, and this opening of its gates is a fit opening for the heroic poem; but to count this Khetam as a single border fortress which the king went into and out of, is to belittle alike the poem and its theme. Picture and poem combine to show that the Khetam of Zor is the Great Wall of Lower Egypt.

[1] "King Rameses Miamun—May he live for ever!" Here is the earlier equivalent of the "God save the king" which was the cry of the Israelites at the inauguration of Saul (1 Sam. 10: 24), and which is echoed in every land of a king to-day.

[2] This beginning of the poem of Pentaur is not given in Lushington's translation (in *Rec. of Past*, II., 65 *ff.*). I quote from Brugsch's translation (in his *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 56).

[3] *These* bracketed words are of my insertion.

As to the correspondence of the Egyptian word "Khetam" with the Hebrew—or the Hebraized—word "Etham," there is more than a mere probability. Brugsch's first assertion of it as a fact[1] did not give it full acceptance with philologists.[2] Afterwards Brugsch strengthened his claim by argument;[3] and Ebers[4] added to the force of the evidence already produced. Even more than all that has been shown by these two scholars can be brought forward in support of the claimed correspondence.

It is admitted by all students of Egyptology that in the days of the Hebrew exodus, and earlier, there was a notable intermingling of the Egyptian and Semitic languages in Lower Egypt. "The memorial stones, coffins, and rolls of papyrus found in the cemeteries of ancient Egypt," says Brugsch,[5] "testify the undoubted presence of Semitic persons, who were settled in the valley of the Nile, and had, so to speak, obtained the rights of citizenship. . . . . We only need to glance over Lieblein's valuable list of Egyptian proper names, to be fully persuaded of this fact." By this intermingling of the races, not only did Semitic words come into frequent use in Egypt, but the blended peoples "even turned Egyptian words themselves into Semitic, by a dissection of the syllables, if we may use such an expression."[6] This being the case, we cannot wonder at finding an Egyptian word adopted into Hebrew with more or less of a provincial cast in its re-shaping.

Brugsch and Ebers have shown that the rejection of the initial *khe* in the Egyptian word "khetam" is thoroughly in accordance

1 "Khetam, the meaning of which 'a shut-up place,' 'fortress,' completely agrees with the Hebrew Etham (*Hist. of Egypt*, I., 234)."

2 "It should be remarked that Professor R. Smith [W. Robertson Smith], looking at the question from a philological point of view, regards Brugsch's identification of the Khetam of the monuments with the Etham of Exodus as quite inadequate." (Greville Chester, in *Surv. of West. Pal.*, "Special Papers," p. 97.)

3 *Dict. Géog.*, p. 637.

4 *Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 521.

5 *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 241.

6 *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 242.

with the Egyptian language, and that it appears in the Coptic, in *thôm* (ⲑⲱⲙ), *thom* (ⲑⲟⲙ), and *tom* (ⲧⲟⲙ), which are substantives meaning "closure," and "walling," and which are radically connected with the Coptic verb *shetem*, "to shut." Brugsch further claims that the E, or A (א), of the Hebrew "Etham" may fairly be taken as a representative of the Egyptian *khe;* that the root *khatam* is common to Hebrew and Arabic, as well as to Egyptian; that changes similar to that of the Egyptian *khe* into the Hebrew *E*, take place in the Hebrew itself, as for instance *atam* and *khatham*, both meaning "to shut," "to close;" which are, in spite of the difference of *a* and *kh*, and *t* (*teth*) and *th* (*tau*) incontrovertibly connected by root.

The Septuagint rendering of the Hebrew "Etham" is Othom (Ὀθώμ), which shows a variation from the present Hebrew text in vocalization *at least.* It is noteworthy that the Arabic word (اطم) *othm*, or *othom; uthm*, or *uthum*, means "citadel;" "fortification built from stones." The Arabic word corresponds with the Hebrew "Etham" in all the consonants except one; the *th* is a *tha* instead of a *ti*—which would be the literal representation of the Hebrew *th.* This variation is not uncommon, as an actual count and comparison shows; it takes place oftenest in cases where the corresponding Aramean form shows a *teth* (Arabic *tha*). In these cases there often exist side by side, in the Aramaic, the Hebrew, and the Arabic, forms in both *teth* (or *tha*) and *tau* (or *ti*); as for example in *kathaph* (כָּתֵף) and *'athapha* (عطف) which are radically connected and show this variation, with another also. It is certainly not unreasonable to suspect a similar historical variation in the "Etham" case; inasmuch as there are found in the Hebrew itself two verbs, *khatham* (חָתַם, *tau* for *th*), and *khatam* (חָטַם, *teth* for *t*), both meaning radically, according to Fürst,[1] "to close;" also an *atam* (אָטַם), with the same meaning. These three

[1] *Heb. u. Chald. Wörterb.*, s. vv. חתם, חטם, אטם.

words in the Hebrew plainly corroborate the other evidence of the connection of Etham with *khetam*, "to close;" and also with the Arabic *othom*, "a citadel," or "a fort."[1]

It appears to be evident, therefore, that the common Egyptian noun "khetam" ("a fortress," or "a closure"), came to be applied as a proper name to the Khetam, or the Khetamoo of Zor; to the Great Wall, or the strong line of Fortifications, on the eastern frontier of Lower Egypt, along the edge of the wilderness. The Egyptians called this border-barrier, indifferently, by their own name, Anboo, or Khetamoo; the Wall, or the Fortifications. The Hebrews called it indifferently by their own pure Hebrew name "Shur [the Wall] which is before Egypt," and by the Hebraized-Egyptian name "Etham [the Fortifications] at the edge of the wilderness." Naturally therefore, the desert which was just beyond the Great Wall was known to the Hebrews, indifferently, as "the Wilderness of Shur," or "the Wilderness of Etham."

3. THE THREE ROADS DESERTWARD.

From the earliest historic days, there seem to have been three great highways out of Lower Egypt eastward. Each of these roads had its well known cognomen, or descriptive title, by which it was spoken of in the days of the Hebrew sacred writings, and by which it would be instantly recognized by Hebrews and Egyptians alike. These three roads passed out, at the left, at the centre, and at the right, as one faced eastward from the Delta. They were called, in that order: "the Way of the Land of the Philistines,"[2] "the Way of Shur,"[3] "the Way of the Red Sea," or

[1] Since the above was in type I find that the very word *atem* (or *etam*) "to shut up" existed in the ancient Egyptian ([hieroglyphs]). See McCauley's *Dict. of Hierog.* p. 12. This seems decisive.

[2] Exod. 13: 17. [3] Gen. 16: 7.

"the Way of the Wilderness of the Red Sea;"[1] or, "the Philistia Road," "the Wall Road," and, "the Red Sea Road."[2]

Our English translation has misled many readers into the belief that the term used in designating these well-known roads, "the way of," necessarily indicated "in the direction of," or "by," or "toward;" but the Hebrew word employed (דֶּרֶךְ, *derekh*) means literally a "road," a "beaten track," a "trodden course."[3] It is translated in several instances, "highway;" as, "the king's highway."[4]

Traces of all three of these great highways out of Egypt are to be found to-day, as they could have been found at any time since the days of Abraham and the early Pharaohs.

4. THE PHILISTIA ROAD.

"The Way of the Land of the Philistines," or the northernmost road of the three, was the road more commonly taken by the Pharaohs on their expeditions into Canaan and Syria. It is spoken of by Brugsch as "the old royal road along the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, the well-known 'road of the Philistines' of Scripture, the road Zahi of the monuments."[5] Strabo[6] describes it as coming in near Pelusium, from the regions east of Egypt. It crossed the line of lakes which form the bed of the

[1] Exod. 13: 18; Num. 14: 25; 21: 4; Deut. 1: 40; 2: 1.

[2] Bruce (*Travels*, I., 239 *f.*) described these three roads out of Egypt eastward, although, like so many others, he did not observe that they were named in the Bible text. His testimony is all the more valuable in its impartiality, from the fact that he thinks that no one of these roads was taken by the Israelites in their exodus.

[3] The term is still in common use among the Arabs. See, *e. g.*, the references in the notes of Professor Palmer (Besant's *Life of Palmer*, p. 293) to "the 'Way of Wady Remliah,' the 'Way Arabia,' and the 'Way of the Hajj.'" (See, also, p. 74 *f.*, *supra*.)

[4] Num. 20: 17; 21: 22.

[5] *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 336.

[6] *Geog.*, Bk. XVII., chap. I., § 21.

modern Suez Canal, just north of Lake Ballah, at a point still known as "El-Qantarah,"[1] "the Bridge," or "the Arch," or "the Span;" where, before the days of the canal, the modern caravan route between Egypt and Syria passed over a two-arched bridge,[2] in the line of "the caravan route" which Ebers specifies as "leading in ancient times from Syria into Egypt."[3] Its passage of the Great Wall must have been at some distance northeast of this bridge. The "Peutinger Tables"[4] would seem to show that the Roman road in this direction ran close along the Mediterranean shore.

[1] This Arabic term El-Qantarah (القنطرة) is translated by Freytag (Lexicon, *s. v.*) "the bridge." Palmer ("Name Lists," *Surv. of West. Pal.*, pp. 23, 63, 162, etc.) translates it "the arch." It seems to differ from "Jisr" (جسر) or "Gisr" (the Arabic ج is pronounced as hard "g" in Egypt, and as "g" soft, or "j" in Syria and Arabia), also sometimes translated the "bridge," in that it has the idea of a "span," either by archway or other open stretch, while the latter may be a solid causeway. As to this, see a foot-note a few pages farther on. This passway of the northern road to Syria is also called "Qantarat el-Khazneh," or similarly "Gisr el-Qanâteer," "The Bridge of the Treasury." (See the Topographical Chart of Egypt in the Atlas of Napoleon's *Descript. de l'Egypte;* Berchére's *Le Désert de Suez*, p. 41; Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 426; Baedeker's *Lower Egypt*, p. 422 *f.;* also "Map of the Delta" in the latter.) Is this a reference to the ancient store-houses, or grain magazines, or "treasure-cities" (Exod. 1: 11), to which this passway was a prominent approach? Or does it indicate an Oriental estimate of the Delta as the great treasury of food for the outside world? "All countries came into Egypt, . . . for to buy corn" (Gen. 41: 57). Tacitus (*Hist.* Bk. III., chap. 8) speaks of "*Ægyptus claustra annonæ:*" "Egypt the treasure-house ["closure"] of corn ["annual produce"]. "Egypt . . . must have been to the wandering tribes of Asia what the Roman empire was to the Celtic and Gothic races when they first crossed the Alps. Egypt is to them the land of plenty, whilst the neighboring nations starve; its long strip of garden-land was the Oasis of the primitive world." (Stanley's *Sinai and Pal.*, Introduction; p. xxx. *f.*)

[2] Berchére's *Le Désert de Suez*, p. 53.

[3] Ebers's *Pict. Egypt*, II., 21.

And Poole (*Cities of Egypt*, p. 114) adds: "The frontier wall has disappeared, with its forts, but the eastward road, whereby the great armies of Egypt went to war in Syria, is yet followed by the caravans."

[4] See a copy of these in Menke's *Bibelatlas*, No. VI.

5. THE WALL ROAD.

"The Way of Shur," or the central road of the three, is made known to us chiefly by its mention in the Bible; although helps to its identifying are not wanting outside of the sacred text. The Bible references to it are commonly from the Canaan direction; going toward Egypt, rather than coming from Egypt. It was the central road through Canaan, lengthwise, as it was the central road into and out of Egypt. It came down through Hebron and Beersheba, about half way between the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea.

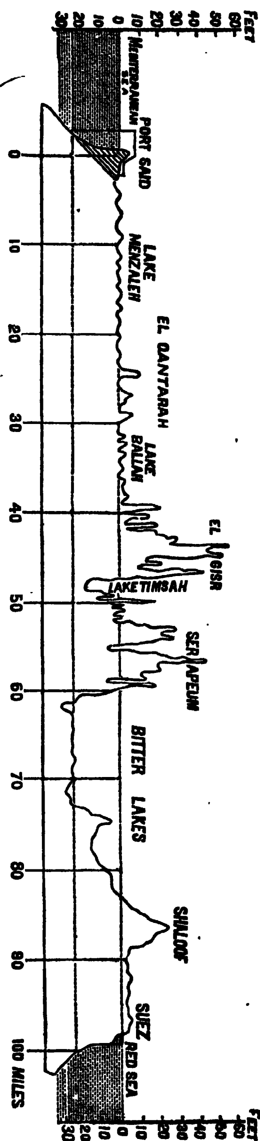
When Hagar fled from Hebron, before the birth of Ishmael, she went down into the wilderness to the fountain on the Wall Road.[1] The road she took seems to have been the road which Abraham had taken into and out of Egypt;[2] and down along which he afterwards moved by stages until he sojourned between Kadesh and the Wall.[3] It was probably along this route that Jacob went down into Egypt, by the way of Beersheba and southward, "in the wagons which Pharaoh had sent to carry him,"[4] when he moved thither with his family at the invitation of Joseph. Incidental proof of this is given in the Septuagint statement, that at that time, "Joseph having yoked his chariots went up to meet Israel his father at Heroöpolis;"[5] for no probable location of Heroöpolis would put that city on the route from the then capital of Egypt to the Philistia Road into the Delta. Again, presumably, it was along the Way of Shur that Joseph went up to Hebron and returned thence, on the occasion of the burial of his father,[6] for Hebron was on that Wall Road.

[1] Gen. 16: 7. [2] Gen. 12: 6-10; 13: 1-3. [3] Gen. 18: 1; 20: 1. [4] Gen. 46: 1-7. [5] Gen. 46: 29.

[6] Gen. 50: 7-14. "The route taken by Jacob's funeral procession was evidently along the usual caravan road between the Delta and Hebron. . . . The Egyptian attendants waited somewhere in the neighborhood of Beersheba, while the Hebrews

As each of the other roads passed the Great Wall at one of its flanks, the Wall Road probably passed it at its centre. West of the Wall, its course was probably between Lake Ballah and Lake Timsâh, near the northern end of the latter, across the high table land El-Gisr; "The Bridge," "The Causeway," or "The Threshold."[1] This would bring it not far from the site of the modern Station Isma'îleeya.

It will be seen by the diagram of a section through the Isthmus of Suez, along the line of the modern canal, given herewith, that the plateau of El-Gisr is the highest ground between the two



went alone through the winding passes up to the ancestral sepulchre at Hebron "(Drew's *Scrip. Lands*, p. 38, note).

[1] The Arabic "Gisr" (جسر) is commonly translated the "Bridge" (See, *e. g.*, Eli Smith's Arabic Index" in Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, first ed., III., Append., p. 215; Palmer's "Name Lists," *Surv. of West Pal.*, pp. 22, 43, 127, etc.; also Freytag's *Lex.* s. v. "Gisr"). But Freytag also renders it a "causeway" ("*Via lapidibus strata,*" French "*chaussée*"). Again, it is sometimes rendered "the threshold." "'El-Gisr' in Arabic signifies 'elevation,' and corresponds very nearly with our word 'threshold'" (Berchére's *Desert of Suez*, p. 64. See, also, Baedeker's *Lower Egypt*, p. 422). Again (according to Dr. H. H. Jessup, of Bayroot), it is a term applied to the larger beams or stringers of the ceiling of a house; beams which bridge the space between the walls, while they may serve as a threshold, or sill, of the rooms above. It will be seen that whether the term as applied to this plateau, be understood as "The Bridge," "The Causeway," or "The Threshold," it plainly suggests the idea of a main passage just here. Justinian (*Instit.*, Lib.

shores; and it is probable that such has been the case in all this geological epoch.[1] It is true that there has been much of fanciful speculation on this point, together with no little of honest doubting and inquiry; but the finally gathered facts of the case would seem sufficient to put the matter at rest, within the limits of the above statement. The first careful surveys and scientific examinations of Lower Egypt as a whole, in modern times, were made by the great French Commission under General Bonaparte (A. D. 1798–1801); and the Maps and Memoirs of that Commission, as published in the early part of this century, are still invaluable as a thesaurus of information on many of the special points which they cover. The essay of M. Roziére on the "Ancient limits of the Red Sea,"[2] includes a full discussion of scientific and historic indications of the changes in the configuration of the Isthmus of Suez; and his conclusion is, that both geology and history go to show that that region has been substantially as at present during all this geological epoch.[3] Any independent and thorough investigation must reach the same conclusion.

Between the Bitter Lakes and the present head of the Gulf of Suez, there stand the heights of Shaloof, an impassable barrier to the waters of the Gulf, and which are clearly of the tertiary for-

I., Tit. XII., 35) says that, as "the thresholds make a certain boundary in a house, so also the ancients designed that the boundary of the empire should be its threshold. Hence also it was called the threshold." Wilkinson (*Anc. Egypt.*, I., 71) and Brugsch (*Hist. Egypt*, II., 388) translate "Gisr" as "Dyke;" they, perhaps, having in mind its "causeway" signification.

[1] The diagram given is from *Proceedings of Inst. of Mech. Engineers* (England), for 1867, accompanying a paper by M. Borel, of Paris.

[2] "Mémoire sur les Anciennes Limites de la Mer Rouge," in *Mémoires sur l'Egypte* (Vol. I., pp. 187–192), Paris, 1803.

[3] It is true that another member of this Commission (M. Du Bois Aymé, in Vol. VIII., pp. 77–143 of this work) incidentally expresses the opinion that the former limits of the Gulf of Suez were greater than now; but he brings no new facts in support of that position, nor does he argue the question, like M. Roziére.

mation, hence not formed within the period of the human habitancy of the globe. These heights are a continuation of the prominent heights of Geneffeh, at the west of the Bitter Lakes, and would seem to shut off the possibility of a union of those Lakes and the Gulf. On this point M. Mauriac, the engineer of the Suez Canal Company,[1] was positive, in view of his study of the case. In his correspondence with President Bartlett, he held that "the ridge of Chaloof is now far above the highest known seas;" that "it is of the same age with the mountain Geneffeh, of which it is a kind of buttress or prolongation;" that the overflow of the Red Sea into the basin of the Bitter Lakes, which left there the existing strata of salt, "could not have taken place during the present geological condition of the globe;" that the level of the Red Sea has not materially changed within this geological epoch; and that there has been "no communication of the Lakes with the Red Sea except in pre-historic times."[2]

Again, Dr. Klunzinger, a naturalist of no mean degree, who went to Egypt directly in the interests of science, and "with the special object of making zoological investigations and collections on the Red Sea,"[3] has recently furnished important testimony on this point, as a result of observations in his particular sphere. He says: "The arm of sea which springs from the great Indian Ocean, and bears the name of Red Sea or Arabian Gulf, is a genuine tropical

[1] Reference is here made to M. Mauriac's correspondence with President Bartlett in the latter's work, *From Egypt to Palestine* (pp. 156–164), which contains a good exhibit of facts bearing on this discussion.

[2] Bartlett shows that Fraas (*Aus dem Orient*, p. 173) and Ritt (*Hist. de l'Isth. de Suez*, p. 5), agree with Mauriac as to the tertiary formation of Shaloof; although the latter would like to introduce an earthquake for its later uplifting, in order to suit his theory of the exodus. Indeed Ritt makes no claim that there are any signs of volcanic action there. His reasoning seems to be, that as his theory of the changes of the Isthmus is not to be reconciled with that ridge as it is, it is easier to introduce an earthquake than to change his theory.

[3] *Upper Egypt*, Preface.

sea, although it stretches northwards far beyond the tropic. Though it is separated from the Mediterranean Sea only by the Isthmus of Suez, in the character of its animal life it is sharply distinguished from the former sea, and only a few cosmopolitan forms are common to both, a proof that in recent epochs at least there has been no communication between the two."[1]

In addition to this aspect of the scientific probabilities of the case, the historic evidence available is all in the same direction. Herodotus[2] was specific in giving "the shortest and quickest distance" between the shores of the Mediterranean, at Mount Casius, and the Arabian Gulf, or Gulf of Suez, as "exactly a thousand stadia"—or Roman furlongs. This would show a distance, at that time, by the quickest route, of about one hundred and fifteen English miles;[3] somewhat more than the present width of the Isthmus. This testimony, of upwards of twenty-three centuries ago, carries us back more than two-thirds of the way to the days of Moses; and it goes to show that whatever changes have taken place in the coast lines meantime, have tended to diminish rather than to extend the breadth of the Isthmus.

Four centuries after Herodotus, Strabo,[4] writing of the same point said: "But the Isthmus between Pelusium and the head [of the Arabian Gulf] near Heroöpolis, is a thousand stadia," and he quotes Poseidonios, a writer about half way between Herodotus and Strabo, as calling the distance "less than fifteen hundred" stadia. A little later than Strabo, Pliny[5] gave the length of the

[1] Klunzinger's *Upper Egypt*, p. 335. [2] *Hist.*, II., 158.

[3] A strange perversion of the testimony of Herodotus has been made by M. Ritt, through a miscalculation of the length of the common classical *stadion* (see *Hist. de l'Isthm. de Suez*, p. 5); but a reference to the text of Herodotus (*Hist.*, II., 149) will show that *his* measurements are in the *stadion hexaplethron*, a stadion of six plethra (a plethron being one hundred and one English feet). Ritt quotes no ancient writer but Herodotus, and *his* measurements he misrepresents.

[4] *Geog.*, Book XVII., chap. 1, § 21.

[5] *Hist. Nat.*, Bk. V., chap. 11.

Isthmus, "from Pelusium to Arsinoë," the same as it had been given by Herodotus. Yet two centuries later, and Ptolemy showed, by his tables of latitude and longitude (a surer definition of relative locations than distances along a traveled route would be), that the Isthmus between the Mediterranean, at Pelusium, and the head of the Gulf of Suez, was then a little broader than at present, and a little narrower than in the days of Herodotus. Ptolemy's plotting, as compared with the actual positions of to-day, is well shown by Kiepert's drawing of "Ptolemy's Map of the World," in the ninth edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica.[1] Again, the "Iter Antoninum," a table of distances along certain routes in the Roman Empire, seems to confirm, by a comparison of its various measurements, the more direct testimony of Ptolemy, Pliny, Strabo, Poseidonios and Herodotus, to the effect that the Isthmus of Suez was certainly no narrower twenty centuries ago, than to-day. This view is affirmed by the competent editor of Baedeker's Lower Egypt;[2] and it would seem to be also the opinion of Professor Huxley, in his latest study of the subject.[3]

In short, whatever theory of the "might have been" is elaborated or defended by any advocate of a greatly narrower way than

[1] Conder (*Handbook*, p. 247) says: "The maps of Ptolemy (second and third centuries of our era) show the mouths [of the Nile] some forty geographical miles farther south than at present." Yet one of the latest careful students of this subject (Ruge, in *Encyc. Brit.*, Art. "Map") says: "No maps appear to have been drawn by Ptolemy himself; those to be found in the oldest editions of his work are by Agathodæmon (a mathematician of the fifth (?) century after Christ), though accurately based, it is true, on Ptolemy's data." Yet Ptolemy speaks (Book I., chap. 19–24) of his method of working on his maps. And a comparison of Ptolemy's plotting with the present line of the Mediterranean seems to show that the mouths of the Nile were farther *north* in his day, instead of farther *south*, than they are to-day. (Much information on the subject of the various editions, earlier and later, of Ptolemy's Geography is to be found in Justin Winsor's "Bibliography of Ptolemy's Geography," in the *Harvard University Bulletins for* 1883 *f.*)

[2] *Handbook*, p. 412 *f.*

[3] "Unwritten History," in Macmillan's Mag. for May, 1883.

that of the present, between Africa and Asia, in the days of the Pharaohs, the hard facts of geology and history are at one in showing that no such thing *was*.[1] Hence we may fairly look for the lines of the roadways of then, in the lines of practicable roadways of now.

A suggestion of Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole, in a recent study of this subject,[2] is worthy of note just here, as illustrative of a whole class of errors in this discussion. Misled by his own inaccurate fixing of Heroöpolis on the strength of an indefinite reference to its site by Strabo,[3] Poole is necessitated to reconstruct the Isthmus to suit that identification. He thinks that El-Gisr may have been lower than now,—so low as to have been under the Gulf of Suez level; that the shore levels north and south may have changed meantime; that there may have been "a gradual fall of the land, at least in the north of the Isthmus of Suez, and a corresponding rise in the south;" that the Gulf of Suez may even "have extended in historical times, so far north as to include Lake Ballâh," without making Africa an island; because, forsooth, how otherwise could we account for the supposed fact that the only great road out

[1] Kurtz (*Hist. of Old Cov.*, II., 312–316) argues in favor of the inclusion of the Bitter Lakes in the Red Sea within historic times. So also do Sharpe (Bartlett's *Forty Days*, p. 25); Hayman (Smith-Hackett's *Bib. Dic.*, Art. "Wild. of the Wand."); E. Stanley Poole (*Ibid.*, Art. "Red Sea"); Canon Cook (*Speaker's Com.* Append. to Exod.); Graetz (*Gesch. d. Juden*, I., 378 *ff.*); Conder (*Handbook*, p. 247 *f.*); Burton (*Gold Mines of Mid.*, p. 96 *f.*); Villiers Stuart (*Nile Gleanings*, pp. 5–7); and others; but no one of these adds a single point to the arguments already disposed of; while in several instances the main facts relied on are now shown to be bald errors.

[2] In his *Cities of Egypt*, pp. 112–123.

[3] All that Strabo says of the location of Heroöpolis, can be reconciled with a connection of that city and the gulf by a canal—the "Trajan River," as Ptolemy (*Geog.*, Bk. IV., chap. 5, § 54) calls it. Ptolemy (Comp. § 13 and § 54 as above) shows that Heroöpolis is some twelve or fourteen miles farther north than the head of the gulf. Poole's conclusion, that "the gulf extended over forty miles northward of its present head at Suez," of course falls with the disclosure of his error in locating Heroöpolis.

of Egypt toward Syria passed north of the present Lake Ballah? "Obviously," he says, "the Pharaohs would have chosen the best line of march, north of the Red Sea, and so between the two seas;" and since, as the face of the country now exists, the plateau of El-Gisr would proffer such a line, it is reasonable to suppose that that plateau was then under water, even if the Isthmus must be tipped up to keep it there. This is certainly an ingenious way of meeting the difficulties which must present themselves to any thoughtful student of the facts involved, who lacks a knowledge of the great central road out of Egypt over El-Gisr, south of Lake Ballah, in the days of the Pharaohs; the "Way of Shur," or the Wall Road of Egypt.

As over against this suggestion of Poole's, a writer in the Edinburgh Review,[1] not long ago, made an ingenious and plausible argument to show that in the days of the exodus this midland road over El-Gisr, or rather over the height next south of it, this "Way of Shur" must have been the *only* practicable highway out of Egypt eastward. His claim was, that the region of Qantarah, the pass of the "Way of the Land of the Philistines," including all "the space now covered by Lakes Menzaleh, Ballah, and Timsâh, and the intervening and neighboring marshy and sandy districts, must at that time either have been far below the level of the Mediterranean, or have been covered by lagoon and marsh, accessible to the waters of that sea, when driven by a westerly wind." His argument was based upon the data of other changes along the Mediterranean shore; and it was so neatly done as to half tempt a regret that it could not be true. But the real barrier to its acceptance was, that its conclusions were utterly at variance with the facts of the case as shown by the Egyptian monuments, the Hebrew records, and the classical geographers and historians. And the same may be said of any theory which would fail to leave

[1] For Jan., 1877, Art. "Mediterranean Deltas."

dry ground for both the "Way of the Land of the Philistines" and the "Way of Shur" in the days of the Pharaohs, and in all the days which have intervened since then.

It has been claimed by many writers that a prophecy of Isaiah (11 : 15) was literally fulfilled in the shortening of the Gulf of Suez; and an appeal to this prophecy ("The Lord shall utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian Sea") has been frequently made in support of some hypothesis of a much narrower isthmus in the days of the exodus. But what reason is there for supposing the "Egyptian Sea" to have been the "Yam Sooph," or the Gulf of Suez?[1] That gulf is never called the "Egyptian Sea" elsewhere than in this passage; and *here* the prophetic reference would seem to be to the Nile rather than to the Gulf. The Nile is several times called the "sea," including at least two instances in Isaiah (18 : 2; 19: 5); and it is so known among the Arabs at the present time.[2] The Pelusiac arm of the Nile, which was the great tongue of that Egyptian Sea eastward; which both bounded and gave life to that portion of primitive Lower Egypt;[3] into which the Great Canal entered; along which were the chief cities and inner fortresses of the eastern border, from Pelusium (the "Key of Egypt") to Heliopolis; and which was, in fact, worshiped as one of the legs of the great god Osiris;—this tongue of the Egyptian Sea has been so "utterly destroyed," and blotted from existence, that Egyptian explorers are unable to track its ancient course, or to define the line of its former channel and banks.[4] Surely there is here an ample fulfillment of the prophecy of Isaiah, without any call to pervert the teachings of the other Scriptures, the records of outside history, and the indications of geology, in order to meet the condi-

[1] The western arm of the Red Sea, by whatever name it was known.

[2] See Gesenius's *Heb. Lex.*, s. v. *Yam* (יָם) 1. a. In Ancient Egyptian, also, the correspondent word "im," signified both "the sea" and "the Nile"; as, again did the word, "uat ur" (water?). See McCauley's *Dict. of Egypt. Hieroglyph.*, pp. 66, 206.

[3] Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 228 *f.*

[4] *Ibid.*, I., 236 *f.*

tions of a hypothetical exegesis, and a hypothetical re-construction of the Isthmus of Suez. There is even reason for thinking that the triple parallelism of this portion of Isaiah's prophecy has exclusive reference to the river Nile; although the commentators generally would find in "the river" a reference to the Euphrates, and would understand that that river is to be smitten into "seven streams." Certainly a more natural meaning would seem to be found in a reference to the Nile in each of the three clauses of the verse:

> "And the Lord shall utterly destroy the tongue of *the Egyptian sea,*
> And with his mighty wind shall he shake his hand over *the river,*
> And shall smite it in *the seven streams,*
> And make men go over dry shod."

"The river" clearly applies to the Nile in Isaiah 19 : 5, and there, also, in a parallelism with the Nile as "the sea." And the Nile *has* been smitten in that portion of it which was known as "the seven streams;" five of those seven streams being now closed from sight.

Distinct traces of this Wall Road, midway of the Isthmus, have been discovered but recently; and even yet their discovery does not seem to have been applied to the question here considered, by students of this region. In 1878, the Rev. F. W. Holland made his fifth visit to the Peninsula of Sinai, "in the hope of throwing some light upon the disputed question of the site of Kadesh-barnea, and the boundary of the ancient kingdom of Edom." When on the edge of the Negeb, the "South Country" of Scripture, he was turned aside from his search of Kadesh-barnea, by learning of an ancient road sweeping across the desert toward the modern station Isma'îleeya. This road, which is a continuation of the caravan route from Hebron and Beersheba, desertward, passes to the north of Jebel Yeleq (which mountain, Holland says, "has been placed too far to the north," on the maps, hitherto); it

"crosses Jebel Mugharah,[1] an important range, where there are wells[2] and ancient ruins; and then turning due west, runs over a rolling plateau, in places much covered with sand drifts, to Ismaîlîa." "Large numbers of flint flakes and arrow heads prove," says Holland, "that this road was much used in ancient times; and there can be little doubt that it was the road followed by Abraham from the Negeb, or South Country, to Egypt." A brief report of this discovery was made by Holland to the British Association for the Advancement of Science;[3] but his death prevented his pursuit of this clue and its linkings. In reporting it, however, he said with enthusiasm: "The discovery of this road is regarded as one of great importance; and, as far as the author can learn, it has been previously unknown."[4] It certainly fur-

[1] This mountain range is laid down on none of the maps (except that of Egypt, in *Stanford's London Atlas*, 1882), so far as I know, although a station marked "Magar" is noted in its region, in the Atlas of the *Description de l'Egypte*, and on a few later maps. Nor is this omission to be wondered at; for the mountain range is no longer on the ordinary route of desert travel, now that the "Way of Shur" is discontinued as a main road; and it is in a district left out of all the modern thorough surveys. It is however occasionally referred to as seen in the distance by travelers between Suez and Gaza. A good description of it, with accompanying illustrations is given in the Archduke Ludwig's *Caravan Route between Egypt and Syria* (See also Stewart's *Tent and Khan*, pp. 202, 215). Professor Palmer makes several references to Magharah, in his now famous ride from Gaza to Suez (See Besant's *Life of Palmer*, p. 269), and his biographer being unable to find the site on the maps falls into the natural mistake (p. 274) of supposing that this "Magharah" is the "Jebel Makrah," many miles eastward.

[2] Is "the fountain in the Way of Shur"—the watering place between Beersheba and the Wall on that Wall Road—yet to be recognized at *this* point?

[3] See *Report of the British Assoc.* for 1878, p. 622 *ff.*

[4] It is worthy of note that Laborde laid down this road on a route map in his great work (*Voyage de l'Arab. Pét.*), just as Holland describes it, and entitled it the "route of the caravans of the Midianites and Idumeans from Syria to Egypt." It seems to be indicated in Kiepert's map which accompanied Robinson's *Biblical Researches*. Lepsius, also, (*Denkm.*, Abth. I., Bl. 3) notes the remains of an ancient road (*alte Strasse*) between Lake Ballah and Lake Timsâh, where El-Gisr furnishes the threshold.

nishes a positive confirmation of the existence of the central Road of the Wall, referred to in the Bible, and indicated by the whole contour of the country in the region of the "Wall that is before Egypt as thou goest toward Assyria."[1]

There is even reason for supposing that the return of Setee I. from his campaign against the Shasoo and other enemies, as shown in the famous bas-relief at Karnak, was by the "Way of Shur," rather than by the "Way of the Land of the Philistines." Even if he went out through the Wall by the northerly road (as is by no means sure), he had certainly swept onward in a northeasterly direction to Galilee, and beyond, and it would seem natural for him to return by a directer course from his victory at "Kana'an," than the Gaza seaside-route could offer to him.

One point is sure: near the place of his passing the Great Wall, and crossing the Great Canal, as there represented, was a "Well of the Tower," or a "Tower of the Well;" a Migdol and a Well in conjunction. To this day there exists a "Bir Makdal,"[2] a "Well of the Tower," on the edge of the wilderness, a short distance from El-Gisr, northeasterly, in the very line of that central roadway between Egypt and Syria—the Way of Shur. If Setee I. did not return to Egypt by that roadway, this "Well of the Tower" at the main entrance which he *might* have entered is a very remarkable coincidence. If, on the other hand, that was the road of his return, this "Well of the Tower" has retained its name, by tradition, in all the intervening ages, in accordance with the customs of the unchangeable East. There is certainly no Well of the Tower suggested as an identification of this landmark of Setee's approach to Egypt, or any other road than this Way of Shur.

[1] Gen. 25: 18.

[2] See "Carte Topographique," in *Description de l'Egypte* (Arabic, بير مقدل; French, *Bir Makdal*); also "Karte von Ægypten," in Lepsius's *Denkmäler*, Abth. I., Bl. 2 (German, *Muktal*); also any complete modern map of that region.

6. THE YAM SOOPH ROAD.

"The Way of the Red Sea," or "The Way of the Wilderness of the Red Sea," was the road which swept out of Egypt, across the wilderness between the two arms of the Red Sea, from the head of the Gulf of Suez to the head of the Gulf of 'Aqabah. It is to-day the great Hajj route from Egypt toward Mekkeh. It first finds mention in the Bible as the road toward which the Israelites were turned, from their encampment near the exit of the Philistia Road through the Great Wall of the frontier, at the time of the exodus. "God led them not the Way of the Land of the Philistines; although that was near [קָרוֹב, *qarobh*, 'close at hand']; . . . but God led the people about [or, better, 'turned the people to'] the Way of the Wilderness of the Red Sea."[1] After this mention, this road is frequently referred to in the narrative of the exodus and wanderings.

When this southernmost road is spoken of, in the Bible, from the Egypt side of the Wall, it is called the "Way of the Wilderness of the Red Sea;"[2] but when it is mentioned from the wilderness side it is called the "Way of the Red Sea"[3] simply. The reason for this distinction is obvious.

As a question has been raised concerning the identity of the modern "Red Sea" with the term so translated in our English Bible, and in the Septuagint, it may be well to meet that question at this point.

The Hebrew term is *Yam Sooph*.[4] The word *Yam* means "sea," or "lake." The word *Sooph* means "weeds," or "sedge," or "rushes," or "flags." *Yam Sooph*, therefore, might fairly mean "Sea of Weeds," or "Sea of Sedge," or "Lake of Rushes," or "Lake of Flags." Brugsch says emphatically,[5] that "*sûph* is a plant which

[1] Exod. 13: 17, 18.
[2] Exod. 13: 18.
[3] Num. 14: 25; 21: 4; Deut. 1: 40; 2: 1.
[4] See Gesenius and Fürst, *s. v.*
[5] *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 430.

grows in lakes, but not in the sea." And Philip Smith adds,[1] that "the leading passage to determine the original meaning of the word is Exodus 2 : 3, where the ark[2] of the infant Moses is made of *sûph*." But before these asseverations could be accepted as conclusive, it would be necessary to show how it was, then, that Jonah found a fresh-water turban in the depths of the Mediterranean Sea; for it was when he had been thrown overboard on his way from Joppa to Tarshish, that he said :[3] "The *sooph* was wrapped about my head." In other words, since it is clear that the Hebrew word *sooph* is in one instance applied to the vegetation of the sea, and in another instance to the vegetation of the river, it is proper to look for some equivalent term, like "weeds," or "sedge," that shall be applicable alike to the vegetation of river and of sea.

The Egyptian word *sufi*, or *thufi*,[4] which Brugsch counts the equivalent of the Hebrew *sooph*, is applied, according to his testimony, to the aquatic vegetation of Lake Menzaleh and vicinity; although the Hebrew word does not seem to be specifically applied, in the Bible, to the vegetation of a *lake*, as it is applied to that of

[1] Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 430, note.

[2] This is an inadvertent error. The ark is made of *gomĕ;* but it is laid in the *sooph*. The same error is made by Greville Chester in his article in "Special Papers" (p. 107) of *Surv. of West. Pal.*

[3] Jonah 2: 5.

[4] "The marshes and lakes rich in water plants, which at this day are denoted by the name of the Birket Menzaleh, shared the name common to all such waters, *sufi* (or, with the Egyptian article, *pa-sufi*, equivalent to 'the *sufi*'), a word which completely agrees with the Hebrew *Suf* [*Sooph*]. The interpreters generally understand this word in the sense of rushes or a rushy district, while in old Egyptian it denotes precisely a water rich in papyrus plants." (Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 232.) In the Appendix to his *Geographical Dictionary* (pp. 890-902, s. v. *Thufi*), Brugsch labors to show that this word was limited to fresh water lilies and rushes; but he simply multiplies evidence in proof of the admitted fact that the word was sometimes so applied. And he shows the essential insufficiency of his argument, when he admits that the word is of Semitic origin; so that Jonah is quite as likely as an Egyptian scribe, or any other dweller in Egypt, to have been informed of its possible meanings.

the river and of the Great Sea. Yet in both his Lexicon[1] and his Geographical Dictionary,[2] Brugsch admits that the Egyptian word is applicable also to sea-weed (*alga marina*).

That the shores and the bottom of the Red Sea are such as readily to account for the application to that sea of some name indicative of the peculiar growths which border and underlie it, is a fact made clear by the testimony of impartial and intelligent observers of all ages. Strabo, speaking of the Red Sea, says:[3] "Even trees (*δένδρα*, '*dendra*') here grow from under the water." Bruce[4] says of the tree-like coral growths of that sea (although he was unfamiliar with the other marine growths reported by later scientists): "My opinion is, that it is from the large trees or plants of white coral, spread everywhere over the bottom of the Red Sea, perfectly in imitation of plants on land, that the sea has obtained this name" of *Yam Sooph*. And he adds: "I saw one of these [trees] which from a root nearly central, threw out ramifications in a nearly circular form, measuring twenty-six feet diameter every way." Fazakerley[5] told of the prominence given to this idea by the Arabs of Toor. "They proposed to us," he said, "to go with them in their boats, and promised to show us what they called trees growing at the bottom of the sea." He accepted their proposal. "There was not a breath of wind; the water was as clear as crystal; and when we had moved out to some little distance from the shore, we saw clearly what they meant by trees: large clusters of coral, and madrepores of different forms and colors, and some of great size, looking like shrubs growing out of the sand."[6] Laborde, again, presented a strong array of testimony on this point,[7] as showing the impropriety of limiting the *sooph* to fresh-water vegetation. Besides citing earlier writers, like Rosenmüller,

[1] *Hier. Demot. Wörterb.*, p. 1580. [2] *Dict. Géog.*, p. 890 *f.*

[3] *Geog.*, XVI., 4, 7. [4] *Travels* (1768–1773), I., 247.

[5] See his "Journey" (in 1811), in Walpole's *Travels in East.* [6] *Ibid.*, p. 381.

[7] *Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée*, p. 5.

Buxtorf, Shaw, and Lipenius, he quoted the testimony of Lord Valentia and Giovanni Finati to the effect that "weeds and corals" are to be seen in such profusion and beauty at many places along the shores of the Red Sea, and again below its surface, as disclosed at low water, "as almost to have the appearance of groves and gardens."[1]

Even if it were shown that *sooph* was a term applied only to the reeds of Egypt, there would still be reason for thinking that it designated a growth along the shores of the Red Sea. Thus Stickel[2] cites Fresnel in proof that *sooph* signifies "the woolly bush of the ripe reed," "the *juncus acutus, arundo Ægyptiaca,* and *arundo Isaica,* which grows commonly on the shore of the Red Sea; and that it is a translation of the old Pharaonic *Shari,* in the Egyptian name of the same sea, *Phi-yom-en-Shari,* the Sea of the Reed (weed); just as at this day a bay of the same [sea] is called *Ghubbet-el-bûs,* 'Reed Bay.'"

More recently, the observing naturalist Klunzinger has brought out added facts of importance bearing on this question, as a result of his long residence and careful studies on the Red Sea coast. He says that where the soil of the desert along that coast is kept moist by "lagoons of sea water, the eye is gladdened by spreading meadows of green rushes."[3] "The coast flora of the desert which requires the saline vapor of the sea is peculiar. A celebrated plant is the shora[4] (*Avicennia officinalis*), which forms large dense groves in the sea, these being laid bare only at very low ebb. Ships are laden with its wood, which is used as fuel, and many

[1] Burton (*Gold Mines of Mid.*, p. 315 *f.*) tells of "the lovely coral-fields of the Northern Red Sea," as they are "described and figured in color and perspective by Eugene Baron Ransounet."

[2] "Der Israeliten Auszug aus Ægypten, etc." in *Stud. u. Krit.*, for 1850, p. 331.

[3] *Upper Egypt*, p. 238 *f.*

[4] Is not this *shora* the same as "the old Pharaonic *shari* in the Egyptian name of the same sea," as referred to by Fresnel and Stickel?

camels live altogether upon its laurel-like leaves."[1] He divides, indeed, the shore line of the Red Sea into the "outer shore zone," or the reef-line, and the "inner shore or sea-grass zone." Even in the outer shore zone there "flourish also in many inlets of the sea thickets of the laurel-like shora shrub" as above described; and there are "sea-grass pools." In the inner shore zone "among the rocks, which are either bare or covered with a blackish and red mucilaginous sea-weed," there "grow green phanerogamous grasses of the family of the Naiadeæ."[2]

This peculiarity of the shores of the Red Sea has attracted the attention of more than one traveler along its coast. While I was on my way from Suez to Mount Sinai, as our party halted for its mid-day lunch at a point between 'Ayoon Moosa and Wady Werdan, my two companions were tempted by a sight of the cool sea at the westward, to walk down to its refreshing shores. They found the distance tediously deceptive. It seemed indeed as if the shore receded before them. And when at last they reached the sea, it was not there. Instead of the clean sandy shore that they had looked for, there stretched before them a wide expanse of marine vegetation between the dry land and the blue waters beyond. Skirting this unexpected barrier of peculiar sea-growth, they espied a sandy peninsula above the water level, and going out on to that they looked back over this shore meadow or heather, which had been laid bare by the low tide, and if they had then been called to give a name to the sea before them, they would have been quite likely to designate it as the "Sea of Sedge," the "Sea of Shora," the *Yam Sooph*, the "*Yom-en-Shari*," or by some such title expressive of its characteristic shores, unless indeed my companions had had some preconceived theory of the exodus, to prejudice them against an appropriate designation.

It is evident that there are sound reasons for supposing that the

[1] *Upper Egypt*, p. 240.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 342–349.

Hebrew term *sooph* was applied to the vegetation of the sea as well as to the border rushes of the river. It is equally certain that the "spreading meadows of green rushes," and the "green phanerogamous grasses" which mark the "sea-grass zone" of the desert-bordered Red Sea, together with the "large dense groves," and "thickets" of "the laurel-like shora shrub," which at low tide are there laid bare in such size and profusion as to furnish food for the camels, fuel for the ships, and confusion and bewilderment to the shore-seeking traveler (all these in marked contrast with the Mediterranean, or the Atlantic, shores), would abundantly justify, to-day, the designation of *Yam Sooph,* the Sea of Weeds, for the Red Sea. Yet, after all, it is more important, as a geographical question, to know what body of water *was* known as Yam Sooph, than to know what waters might have been, or even what waters ought to have been, so known. And as to this point the historical evidence seems complete.

The Yam Sooph is first mentioned in connection with the plague of locusts (Exod. 10: 19): "And the Lord turned a mighty strong west wind [literally, a "sea wind," a "wind from the Mediterranean"] which took away the locusts and cast them into the Yam Sooph; there remained not one locust in all the coasts of Egypt." Now if that wind blew from the Mediterranean Sea, it would have required a "boomerang" current quite unknown in the realm of meteorology, to have swept all the locusts of Lower Egypt either into Lake Serbonis, or Lake Menzaleh, on the southern border of the Mediterranean, or into any other of the lakes which have been named as philologically indicated in the Yam Sooph.[1] And the same would be true if the wind were one directly from the west, instead of a wind from the sea. But if a good strong wind either

[1] "Yam Souph, 'the Sea of Reeds' . . . was applied as a general term to denote all the marshes and lagoons of Lower Egypt, which are characterized by their rich vegetation, consisting of papyrus and of rushes." (Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt,* II., 376.)

from the west or from the northwest were blowing across Lower Egypt, the locusts would have had to find a watery grave in the western arm of the Red Sea, in spite of all their protests against the philological impropriety of the performance.

The next mention of Yam Sooph is in the narrative of the exodus,[1] where it is said that God led not the people out of Egypt by the Philistia Road, although that was just at hand, but he turned the people to "the Way [or, the Road] of the Wilderness of the Yam Sooph;" and again that Moses, having crossed the miraculously-bared bed of the waters, "brought Israel from the Yam Sooph; and they went out into the Wilderness of the Wall."[2] Yet again the Yam Sooph was touched by them several stations later.[3] This "Wilderness of the Yam Sooph" would seem to be a general name for the entire wilderness between the two arms of the Red Sea. This view of it is sustained by every direct or incidental reference to it in the Old Testament.[4] But as if to put at rest all doubt as to the identity of the Yam Sooph with the Red Sea, the former term is clearly applied, in several instances, to the *eastern* arm of the Red Sea, or the Gulf of 'Aqabah.[*] Thus, for example, God's promise to Israel is: "And I will set thy bounds from the Yam Sooph even unto the Sea of the Philistines, and from the desert unto the river;"[5] in other words, the boundary stretch on the south shall be from the Gulf of 'Aqabah to the Mediterranean, and its reach north and south shall be from the Arabian Desert to the Euphrates; and this promise was literally fulfilled in the days of David and Solomon.[6] To imagine this promised southern boundary as being from Lake Serbonis to the Mediterranean, is to bring out the essential absurdity of the claim that

[1] Exod. 13: 18.

[2] Exod. 15: 22.

[3] Num. 33: 10.

[4] Comp. Exod. 13: 18; 14: 2; Num. 14: 25–33; 33: 6–8; Deut. 1: 40; 2: 1; Judg. 11: 16, etc.

[5] Exod. 23: 31.

[6] See *Speaker's Com.* at Exod. 23: 31.

Yam Sooph refers to that lake; or, indeed, to any lake near the border of the Mediterranean.

Again, Yam Sooph evidently refers to the eastern arm of the Red Sea, when Jephthah tells the king of the Amorites of the Israelites' course from Egypt through the wilderness, until at the close of their wanderings they came to Ezion-gaber on their way to their final assembling at Kadesh. "Israel came up from Egypt," he says, and "walked through the wilderness unto the Yam Sooph, and came to Kadesh;"[1] or as the record in Numbers stands: "They . . . encamped at Ezion-gaber [at the head of the Gulf of 'Aqabah]. And they removed from Ezion-gaber, and pitched in . . . . Kadesh."[2] And yet again it was "on the lip of the Yam Sooph, in the land of Edom," that "king Solomon made a navy of ships"[3]—to traverse seas very different from the oozing waters of the Serbonian Bog and its appurtenances.

It would be easy to multiply evidences that Yam Sooph is a term which the ancient Hebrews applied to the Red Sea. Indeed the proofs are so numerous in the accepted text of our Hebrew Bible, that some of the fresh-water theorists have urged that the Hebrew scholars who, while themselves resident in Egypt, two thousand years ago, made the Septuagint version, and other scholars before and after them, must have been misled by popular errors as to the geography of that region, and so were induced to give an unauthorized gloss to the text, where the term Yam Sooph is employed.[4] But, apart from all disputed readings and am-

[1] Judg. 11: 16. See page 146 *f.*, *supra*. [2] Num. 33: 35, 36. [3] 1 Kings 9: 26.

[4] See Schleiden (in his *Die Landenge von Suês*, pp. 177–199), as referred to, approvingly, by Brugsch (in his *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 430); the author of "Mediterranean Deltas," in the *Edinburgh Review* for Jan., 1877; Chester, in *Surv. of West. Pal.*, "Special Papers," p. 87; and others. Bartlett (*Egypt to Pal.*, p. 170) by a single sentence, pricks the bubble of Schleiden concerning the "gloss" by which *Yam Sooph* crept into the text: "Schleiden first alleged that this statement was in the Jehovistic, and not in the Elohistic, portion of Genesis, and might therefore be set aside. But if the importance of such a distinction be recognized, Exodus 13: 18, in

biguous references, the evidence is ample that the Yam Sooph of the Hebrew Scriptures was the Red Sea of modern geography; and in fact the ordinary method of making a fair show on the other side has been by ignoring[1] such of the passages quoted above as would in themselves be sufficient to put the matter finally at rest, or by denying the correctness of every historical verity which stands in the way of a particular theory concerning the interpretation of the only extant record on the subject of inquiry.[2]

This "Way of the Red Sea," or this Red Sea Road, which swept across the Wilderness of the Red Sea, from the head of the Gulf of Suez to the head of the Gulf of 'Aqabah, was probably the road taken by Kedor-la'omer when he turned into the wilderness at the lower end of Mount Seir, and which he pursued until he reached El-Paran, or En-Nakhl, the mid-desert oasis, where he made his turn northward toward Kadesh-barnea.[3] It is also the road toward which the rebellious Israelites were turned back from Kadesh-barnea when they were sentenced to a life of wandering. "To-morrow, turn you and get you into the wilderness by the Way of the Red Sea,"[4] was the direction. They were not to go to the Red Sea, but to take the well-known Red Sea Road into the wil-

which the statement occurs, is Elohistic." Again, on Exodus 14: 1, Schleiden coolly remarks (note at p. 180): "The name Jehovah is here and in the following verses obviously a later interpolation." It is easy to prove one's pet theory, from the Bible text, if the privilege is granted of changing the text to suit the theory. Schleiden is also at fault in supposing that the "Egyptian Sea" (the Nile) is the Mediterranean.

[1] Chester (as above, p. 156) says unqualifiedly: "It is remarkable that throughout the direct *narrative* there is no mention of a Jam *Sûph*, or Sea of *Reeds*, at all. The *Jam*, the *Sea*, alone is spoken of." And this in the face of two mentions of *Yam Sooph* in the direct narrative; one at Exod. 13: 18; the other at Exod. 15: 22.

[2] To deny the historical verity of the Bible record is one thing; but to take up for examination a Bible story as if it were veritable history, and then to deny the accuracy of such portions as fail to conform to one's pet theory of the history which has its only record in the Bible, can hardly be called a scholarly method of study.

[3] Gen. 14: 6, 7. See page 36 *f.*, *supra*. [4] Num. 14: 25.

derness. They were to take the same road from Kadesh to the wilderness that Kedor-la'omer had taken from the wilderness to Kadesh. "Then we turned," says Moses, "and took our journey into the wilderness by the Way of the Red Sea [by the Red Sea Road], as the Lord spake unto me."[1] And that Red Sea Road is, to-day, as well defined and prominent a southernmost highway out of Lower Egypt eastward, as is the northernmost road toward Gaza, which marks the old-time Way of the Land of the Philistines; while mid-way between the two are the unmistakable traces of the central highway of the three, the Way of Shur.

Brugsch, whose extended studies in the geography of Ancient Egypt have largely shaped popular opinion in that field in recent times, is seemingly so influenced by his peculiar theory of the route of the exodus, that he is disinclined to recognize the traces of more than *one* ancient highway out Lower Egypt eastward, while he does not seem quite decided as to the location and course of that one.[2] The writer in the Edinburgh Review, already referred to, was disposed by the theories to plunge the region of El-Qantarah (north of Lake Ballah) under water in the days of Moses. Reginald Stuart Poole's theory, on the other hand, led him to raise El-Qantarah as the single pathway of that period, while he sank El-Gisr (south of Lake Ballah) out of sight in the waters of the Gulf of Suez. To avoid either of these extremes, yet to have only the one highway which *his* theory calls for, Brugsch skilfully brings the two plateaus together, which now flank Lake Ballah, at the north and the south, and lays one of

[1] Deut. 2: 1.

[2] In one place, Brugsch states that "the great Pharaonic road" was the one on which Khetam was one of the main stations (*Hist. of Egypt*, II., 387). But again he insists that this "great Pharaonic road," "the old royal road" (*Ibid.*, I., 33C) "the 'Road of the Philistines' of Holy Scripture, is *not* that which commenced at Khetam, the Etham of the Bible, or no matter what other town in its neighborhood." (*Ibid.*, II., 430.)

them on the other, giving to the double-structure the compound "name of Guisr-el-Qantharah, 'the dyke of the bridge'" as he calls it, although that term might properly mean, "the bridge of the arch."[1] In spite of the separateness of the two plateaus as shown by official surveys, and of the distinctness of the two Arabic names, as proven by like authoritative records, Brugsch is confident that his compound site of an old-time roadway "must be regarded as the last reminiscence of the only passage which, in ancient times, allowed a traveller to enter Egypt dryshod from the East."

Yet in his Map of Ancient Lower Egypt[2] Brugsch, with apparent unconsciousness, gives evidence of the inaccuracy of this sweeping statement of his. Just in the line of the southernmost road—the "Way of the Wilderness of the Red Sea"—he notes the "Wilderness Way of the Bed'ween into Egypt" ("*Wüstenweg der Beduinen nach Ægypten*"). This would almost seem a paraphrasing of the Hebrew designation of this Road; and Brugsch can hardly think that the ancient Shasoo were accustomed to enter Egypt from their wilderness roaming-fields in *boats*. Again, on that Map, Brugsch shows the summit-level of the Isthmus, the water-shed, in the line of the lakes, to be just north of Lake Timsâh, between that and Lake Ballah; at the very point (El-Gisr) where, as it has been shown, the Way of Shur came in from the eastward. Certainly there seems no reason (unless it be found in a preconceived theory of the exodus which has to be sustained) why this table-land summit should not, in ancient times as in later

[1] Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 388. No authority is given by Brugsch for this compound name. Is it possible that he was misled by the Topographical Chart of Egypt in the Atlas of the *Description de l'Ægypte?* On that chart, the Qantarah passway is called in Arabic "Jisr-el-Qanâtir" (جسر القناطير) which might easily be mistaken for "Jisr el-Qantarah" (جسر القنطرة); but the French translation of the Arabic, on the Chart ("*Pont du Trésor*" "The Bridge of the Treasury"), shows that no such designation as Brugsch suggests was here intended.

[2] Accompanying his *Hist. of Egypt*.

ones, have "allowed a traveler to enter Egypt dryshod from the East." Indeed, Brugsch's Map of Ancient Egypt taken by itself furnishes *prima facie* evidence of the existence of the three highways out of Egypt eastward, which the Bible refers to as the "Way of the Land of the Philistines," the "Way of Shur," and the "Way of the Wilderness of the Red Sea."

Moreover, the Egyptian records would seem to give plain indications of more roads than one. In the ancient scribe's report of the pursuit of two fugitive slaves, to which a reference has already been made,[1] it is distinctly declared that the scribe was informed, at the barrier, or fortress, of Thukoo, that the fugitives "had decided to go by the *southern* route." How there should have been any doubt as to the route they would take, or why that route should be called the "southern" one, if there was but one road above water eastward, is certainly not easy of explanation. Acting on his information at Thukoo, the scribe continued his pursuit; and the inference from the records as it stands would be, that his new course was southerly, in the supposed direction of the fugitives. Having reached the Great Wall ("Khetam"), he received news that "the fugitives had got beyond the region of the Wall to the north of the Migdol of king Seti Mineptah."[2] This looks as if the Migdol here mentioned was yet southward of the scribe's point of reaching the Wall; but Brugsch, in his narrative of the exodus affirms that the fugitives "had taken the *northerly* direction," instead of the "*southern*" one as reported to the scribe. Brugsch was, indeed, in a sense, shut up to this opinion by his theory of the one road out of Egypt, easterly, and of one Migdol (and that a town), on the line of that road.

[1] From the Anastasi Papyri, as translated by Brugsch (*Hist. of Egypt*, II., 389) and quoted in this work (p. 47 *f.*, *supra*).

[2] The "Migdol of king Seti Mineptah" was the Migdol of the Well (as the pictured inscription at Karnak distinctly declares); and "Beer Makhdal" (or the Well of the Migdol), still retains its name on the line of the Shur Road out of Egypt.

7. THE MANY MIGDOLS.

As Brugsch's argument in support of his theory of the exodus has depended largely on his claim that there was but one Migdol in eastern Lower Egypt, it is not to be wondered at that he has been disinclined to see the full force of any indication of a Migdol elsewhere than at the site he has preëmpted for it. But as so much is involved in the question of one Migdol, or many, it is well to compare the opinions of Brugsch, in this matter, with the facts on which he bases them.

Having fixed upon a place, now known as "Tell es-Samoot,[1] on the eastern side of Lake Menzaleh,"[2] and a short distance southwest of the site of Pelusium, as the location of ancient Migdol, Brugsch proceeds to maintain that identification against all opponents or doubters whatsoever. He even goes so far as to say: "This Migdol is the only place of that name which I have met with in the Egyptian geographical texts; among more than three thousand geographical proper names."[3] Yet if the evidence which Brugsch proffers in defense of his claim be examined, it will be found that there is not in it a particle of proof that here was even one Migdol among many in the days of the Pharaohs. There certainly were several Migdols elsewhere in Lower Egypt at that period. There *may* have been one here. That is the best that can be said for the case as Brugsch himself presents the proofs.

Brugsch's statement of the case is: that he finds on the monuments a "Samhud" and a "Migdol," or "Makthal," named as at the same place;[4] that "Samhud" (Arabic, "Samoot") is an Egyptian name, and "Migdol" a Hebrew one;[5] that an Egyptian

[1] *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 237 *f.*

[2] The Arabic "Tell" corresponding with the Hebrew, *Tel* (תֵּל) means "a mound," "a heap," especially a heap of ruins. See Deut. 13 : 16.

[3] *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 382.

[4] *Dict. Géog.*, pp. 707, 905.

[5] *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 237 *f.*

inscription of the days of Amenhotep IV., of the Eighteenth Dynasty, speaks of the stretch of Egypt from Samhud to Elephantiné,[1] while a prophecy of Ezekiel[2] speaks similarly of the stretch from Migdol to Syene, as if Samhud, or Migdol, was the northern landmark of Egypt, as Elephantiné, or Syene, was the southern one; that the Antonine Itinerary refers to a "Magdolum" as twelve Roman miles from Pelusium in a southerly direction,[3] a distance which well corresponds with the modern "Tell es-Samoot;"[4] that a "Makthal" was near the return road of Setee I., as he re-entered Egypt from his Syrian campaign;[5] that a Migdol was near the position of Rameses III., when he watched a battle on the sea near Pelusium;[6] and finally that there is no Egyptian mention of more Migdols than one.[7]

Now what is the force of this evidence in its details? "Samhud," or "Samhudt," or "Samhudti," is, according to Brugsch's own admissions, "the name of many places situated in Lower Egypt,"[8] as proved by the ancient monuments. And "*the more important* of the cities named 'Samhud' is that which the lists designate as the Metropolis of the Seventeenth Nome."

This preëminent Samhud of Lower Egypt "is the same city the situation of which is indicated by the position of the modern city of *Damietta*"[9]—the present name of which is obviously a relic of the ancient one. A glance at the map will show that Damietta is a salient northern land-mark of the coast of Egypt. It stood, of old, at a central point of the coast line of Lower Egypt proper, midway between the Pelusiac arm of the Nile eastward, and the Canopic arm westward.[10] Then, as now, if one were to speak of

[1] *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 498; II., 381 *f.*

[2] Ezek. 29: 10, as rendered in the margin, "From Migdol to Syene."

[3] *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 427.

[4] *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 426.

[5] *Ibid.*, II., 11-14.

[6] *Ibid.*, II., 153 *ff.*

[7] *Ibid.*, II., 389.

[8] *Dict. Géog.*, p. 704.

[9] *Dict. Géog.*, p. 704.

[10] "We can have little hesitation in considering the inhabitants included between

Egypt from its northern to its southern limits, he would naturally tell of the stretch from Damietta to Elephantiné, or to Aswan. Who can doubt that the ancient Egyptians were as familiar as the modern archeologist with the relative prominence of the Phatnitic[1] Samhud, in comparison with all the other Samhuds of Lower Egypt? Why should we question that *the* Samhud spoken of as a well-known northern boundary line, was *the* Samhud which *was* a well-known northern boundary line, instead of an insignificant Samhud which by its very location could not have been a northern boundary limit of Egypt; and which we have historical reasons for knowing never was such a limit? Except for its supposed value in bolstering up a preconceived theory of the exodus, Tell es-Samoot could never have been seriously considered in this connection.

Now, as to the coincidence of Samhud and Migdol. If—as some of Brugsch's followers have not unnaturally inferred, but which he himself does not directly assert[2]—Samhud is simply the Egyptian equivalent of the Hebrew Migdol, of course every Samhud was also a Migdol; and as the Samhuds of Lower Egypt were many, so also were the Migdols. Since, however, the testimony of Brugsch is only that one "Samhud," also called "Atef," was designated in the days of the Ramessids as the place of "Pa-

the branches of the Nile to have been for the most part of pure Egyptian race. The line of demarcation, which separated this race from the neighboring peoples was formed on the west by the Canopic branch of the Nile, as by the Pelusiac branch on the opposite side toward the East". (Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 228 *f.*, and 236.)

[1] See Stanley Lane-Poole's *Egypt*, p. 31.

[2] Comp. Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 238, 498; II., 381, 426; his *Dict. Geog.*, p. 1050; Poole's *Cities of Egypt*, p. 123; Chester's "Journey," in *Surv. of West. Pal.* "Special Papers," p. 101; Baedeker's *Lower Egypt*, p. 470; etc. Poole speaks of ancient "Migdol" as a "place having, like Zoan, a double name, one Semitic, and the other (Samut) Egyptian." Baedeker, usually accurate in such matters, goes farther, and speaks, as if from Brugsch, of "the Egyptian name of Samut (also signifying a tower"). But Brugsch himself makes no such assertion.

Makthal,"[1] the main question is, Was *that* Samhud located on the border of the wilderness, near Pelusium? Brugsch shows that "Atef," was at one time the metropolis of a nome bearing the same name.[2] Rameses III. tells of his honors, in being "crowned with the Atef-crown."[3] That Damietta—or the city which it has succeeded—may have been such a metropolis as this is possible. Brugsch, indeed, says[4] of the latter city, that it "was a second Thebes, a second city of Amon;" that it bore a "whole set of names;" that it was called, among other designations, "'*Na-mehit*,' 'the city (*par excellence*) of the North,' as Thebes is called *Na-ris* the city of the South;'" and that its importance "close to the sea, was pre-eminent in ancient times as at the present day." It would have been not unworthy of a Rameses to speak proudly of assuming "the Atef crown, together with the Uræus serpents," in accepting the sovereignty of a metropolis like *that*, with its "whole set of names," including "Samhud" and "Pa-Makthal"; but to suggest such a thing of a region like Tell es-Samoot, seems an absurdity on its face.

"Migdol," whether in Egypt or out of it, is after all a recurrence of a Hebrew common noun, meaning "a tower," or "a great tower." Its first appearance in the Bible is as the "migdol" of Babel.[5] Afterwards it is frequently used—sometimes interchangeably with *bakhun*,[6] *bakhan*,[7] or *bakhon*[8]—with or without an accompanying local appellative, as descriptive of a separate fortification, or of a portion of a line of defences.[9] It would

[1] *Dict. Geog.*, pp. 707, 1050. In his formal arrangement of nomes, Brugsch clearly rests his assignment of "Atef," and "Samhud," and "Migdol" on his argument in favor of Tell es-Samoot; in other words he reasons in a circle, with no fixed point proven by the records.

[2] *Ibid.* [3] *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 144. [4] *Ibid.*, II., 418 *f.*

[5] Gen. 11: 1-9. [6] Isa. 23: 13.

[7] Isa. 32: 14. Comp. 2 Kings 17: 9; 18: 8. [8] Jer. 6: 27.

[9] Gen. 35: 21; Judg. 8: 17; 9: 46, 47, 49, 51; 2 Chron. 14: 7; Neh. 3: 1, 25, 26, 27; 12: 38, 39; Psa. 48: 12; 61: 3; Song 4: 4; etc.

appear to have been the same in the Egyptian records as in the Hebrew. "That the ancient Egyptians . . . were well acquainted with the meaning of this word, which was foreign to their language, is proved most conclusively by the masculine article prefixed to it, and the sign of a wall ( ) which was added to the foreign word when written in Egyptian characters."[1] There certainly were a great many "towers," "great towers," "watch-towers," and "fortress-towers" in ancient Lower Egypt. Whether those towers were all called "migdols" by the Egyptians or not, they were likely to be so called by the Hebrews, and to be so designated in the Hebrew records. Mariette, indeed, applies the word "migdol" to those "triumphal towers" which are "represented in the bas-reliefs of Karnak, of Luxor, of the Rameseum, and of Medinet-Abou itself, and which the kings of Egypt were wont to erect on their frontier, at once as a means of defence, and as a memorial of their victories."[2]

A word often used for "tower" in the Egyptian records is *bekhen*, *bakhun*, or *bekhent*.[3] This word, Brugsch declares to be "identical with the Hebrew *bekhon*," and to mean an "outlook," "a tower built on a hill." It applies, he says, to "any building from which one can look far out into the land, and which itself is visible afar; thence any house standing high; a tower." This word may have had its root from the Hebrew, or again it may have been carried into the Hebrew from Egyptian. In any event it is a word which is used in the Hebrew (as has already been mentioned), interchangeably with migdol," for a "watch-tower."[4] And whatever tower was called "bekhen" in the Egyptian might naturally have been called "migdol" in the Hebrew. For example, Brugsch says that on the shores of the Mediterranean, at

[1] Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 237.

[2] *Monuments of Upper Egypt*, p. 209.

[3] *Dict. Géog.*, p. 648 *f.*

[4] Comp. as above, Isa. 23: 13; 32: 14; Jer. 6: 27; 2 Kings 9: 17; 17: 9; 18: 8.

the place subsequently called Ostracine, "there was a bekhen, or tower, which the inscriptions designate as Pa-nakhtu, or the 'Conqueror's Tower' of king Seti."[1] And he mentions that "at this point the proper Egyptian boundary ended, and the territory of the land of Zahi, which was afterwards the land of the Philistines, began." He even adds[2] that, in the days of Setee I., this bekhen was called "*the* Tower" ["the Migdol," as the Hebrews would have said]. Now if there was a "Tower" ("the Tower") at the extreme territorial limit of Egypt northeasterly, is it not more probable that *that* Tower was referred to by the prophet when he spoke of a boundary Tower northward, than that he had in mind a Tower at Tell es-Samoot (if ever there was a Tower there), which was not at any time a limit of Egypt either eastward or northward?

It is clear, therefore, that in all the evidence furnished by either the Egyptian or the Hebrew records of the location of Samhud, or of Migdol, as a northern limit of Egypt,—while there is much in favor of Damietta for the former, if not indeed for both, and of Ostracine for the latter, there is literally nothing that will justify the supposition that Tell es-Samoot was the site of either, or that it was anywhere in the vicinity of either.

There is, indeed, no need to suppose that the term Migdol when used as a boundary limit, necessarily applied to a single place of that name. The migdols were the border towers of the land, the well-known accompaniment of the frontier fortresses. When the Hebrew prophet would speak of Egypt from its northern to its southern bounds, it was sufficient to refer to the stretch from border-tower to red-granite mountain, "from Migdol to Syene, even unto the border of Ethiopia."[3] Thus to-day, in the United States, one might speak of the stretch from prairie-fort to the

[1] *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 13. See also his Map. [2] *Dict. Géog.*, p. 129.

[3] Ezek. 29: 9, 10; 30: 6.

Atlantic, from ocean to outpost, without being supposed to have in mind one particular fortification of the border; far less a city bearing the name "Prairie-fort" or "Outpost." It is the well-known term itself which carries the meaning intended. So with the term Migdol as suggesting the northern boundary of Egypt. There is no good reason for supposing that there was any *city* of that name on the borders of that land in the days of the Pharaohs or of Ezekiel and Jeremiah.[1] All the available evidence is against the supposition. See, for example the uses of the term migdol in this sense, where (2 Kings 17: 9) the idolatrous high-places of the Israelites are said to extend "from the tower [the migdol] of the watchman to the fenced city;" and where (2 Kings 18: 8) the sweep of Hezekiah's victories over the Philistines is said to be thorough, "from the tower [the migdol] of the watchman to the fenced city."

As to the fact that there was a Well of Migdol, or a Migdol of the Well, near the return road of Setee I., as he came from his Syrian campaign, it has already been shown that there are traces of such a place in "Bir-Maktal" near the great central road, the Way of Shur, into Egypt from Syria.[2] Moreover, according to the bas-relief at Karnak, *that* Migdol was clearly on the Syrian side of the line of the Great Wall. Beer-Makhdal answers to this requirement; Tell es-Samoot does not, as a glance at the map will show.

In the records of Rameses III., there would seem to be even less positive testimony, than in those of Setee I., in favor of a Migdol at Tell es-Samoot, or its neighborhood. Brugsch speaks confidently[3] of "a naval engagement at Migdol, at the mouth of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile," in the days of Rameses III.;

[1] See Jer. 44: 1; 46: 14, where Migdol is simply the northern starting-point of the sweep of Egypt toward its southern country.

[2] See page 351, *supra*.

[3] *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 153.

and he proceeds to give the details of that engagement from the Harris Papyrus, as if that record somehow justified his statement. His positiveness so carries away his English editor, Mr. Philip Smith, that the latter assumes to cite the "testimony . . . of the Harris Papyrus, describing Rameses III. encamped (like Israel) 'between Migdol and the sea' to witness the victory of his fleet."[1] But in the translations of the Harris Papyrus as given by Brugsch in his "History,"[2] or as published in the "Records of the Past,"[3] there is no mention of Migdol; nor is there any indication of the naval engagement as "at the mouth of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile," or in the region of Tell es-Samoot. The basis of Brugsch's claim is, probably, the pictured records of Rameses III., on the walls of the temple of Medeenet-Aboo at Thebes. A naval combat of that king's reign is represented there; and as Mariette Bey says:[4] "The scene is laid either close to the coast, or at the mouth of some river." Possibly it was off the coast from Ostracine. One of the pictures of this series represents the king, on his return to Egypt, stopping "at a fortified place called 'Migdol en Rameses-Hak-On,'"—the Tower of Rameses, Lord of On,—in order to count the number of hands cut off from the vanquished in the battle. Where this Migdol was, is not indicated in the picture. It may have been the Migdol near Ostracine; or again it may have been the Migdol near the Phatnitic mouth of the Nile, at the pre-eminent Samhud there. Certainly it would appear from its name that it was somewhere else than at "the Migdol of king Seti Mineptah," which Brugsch would locate at Tell es-Samoot.

It is, indeed, true that the Antonine Itinerary locates a Magdolum at twelve Roman miles southerly from Pelusium; and that this identification would suit the site of Tell es-Samoot, as it might suit a number of sites within a considerable sweep east and west.

[1] *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 427, note. [2] *Ibid.*, II., 153-155.
[3] Vol. VI., pp. 23-70; Vol. VIII., pp. 5-52. [4] *Mon. of Upper Egypt*, p. 221.

This evidence is, in fact, the *only* item of proof that there was ever a trace of a "Migdol" at Tell es-Samoot at any time in the history of the race. And the Antonine Itinerary does not, in whole or in part, go far back of the beginning of the Christian era. At the best it shows only that, say fifteen centuries after the days of the exodus, there was a station on a Roman road from Pelusium southward to Serapeum, which bore a name based on the old Hebrew term Migdol, a name then held by various places, stretching from the Magdala on the shores of the Sea of Galilee in the north,[1] to the Magdala among the mountains of Abyssinia[2] in the south.[3]

In fact, although it is not easy to find any proof that there was a Migdol in the neighborhood of Tell es-Samoot in the days of the Pharaohs, it is easy to show that there were more or less Egyptian Migdols *elsewhere* in that age, notwithstanding the unqualified assertion of Brugsch that he has found no other Migdol mentioned "in the Egyptian geographical texts, among more than three thousand geographical proper names."[4] Apart from the "Makthel," on the Karnak list of places conquered by Thotmes III., which Brugsch identifies with "Migdol,"[5] but whether or not with his Tell es-Samoot-Migdol, does not appear,[6] the latter certainly finds in the scribe's report (already referred to)

[1] The supposed home of Mary Magdal-ene. See Neubauer's *Géog. du Talmud*, p. 216 *f.*

[2] Where King Theodore committed suicide, April 13, 1868; and for the capture of which General Napier was created Baron of Magdala.

[3] Perizonius (*Ægypt. Orig.*, p. 416) discussing the ancient cities of Egypt and Palestine says that there were often many cities of one name; "certainly there were many *Migdols*."

[4] *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 388.

[5] *Ibid.*, I., 392.

[6] The place of this name in the lists would seem to indicate that it is in central or upper Palestine; but as Brugsch insists (*Hist. of Egypt*, II., 12, 132) that up to the time of Setee I. the Shasoo still claimed the eastern Delta as their own, it is more than possible that he looks upon this "Migdol" as the one of which, in his opinion, Tell es-Samoot covers the remains.

concerning the fugitive slaves, a mention of a Migdol which has an identity quite by itself, at the same time that it indicates the probability of other "Migdols" from which it is to be distinguished.

It is "the Migdol of king Seti Mineptah" which the fugitives are said to have passed.[1] If there was but one Migdol in Lower Egypt, why was it necessary to distinguish it in this manner? Does not this distinctive description in itself furnish presumptive evidence of the existence of more Migdols than one; of a Migdol which was *not* "the Migdol of king Seti-Mineptah," as well as of a Migdol which *was?* As if to put the proof of his own error beyond all dispute, Brugsch further admits that he finds mention of a "Migdol Rameses Haqân,"[2] in the days of Rameses III.; and this is at least the fourth Migdol which he reports out of the texts where he is confident that only one is named.

The simple truth is, that Brugsch is so possessed of his "preconceived theory of the exodus," and so swayed by its supposed necessities, that he deliberately takes "Migdol," "Pa-Migdol," "the Migdol of king Seti-Mineptah," "the Migdol of Rameses Haqân," and all the other Migdols of the monuments and the papyri, and piles one of them on the other, at the site of Tell es-Samoot, saying to his admiring and enthusiastic followers: "Go to, let us build us a city, and a tower [a 'migdol'], whose top may reach unto heaven; and let us make us a name."[3] And the result of this Migdol-building is the same as at the Migdol of Babel: there is a confusion of language among those who would have a part in it, or who would learn of the facts involved; so "that they may not understand one another's speech"—without the aid of a

[1] *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 138, 389. See pages 47, 363, *supra*.

[2] *Dict. Géog.*, p. 310. This is, doubtless, the Migdol of Rameses-Haq-On, pictured at Medeenet Aboo, as mentioned on page 371, *supra*.

[3] Gen. 11: 4.

studious and an unbiassed interpreter. And this is what Mr. Philip Smith points to approvingly as "the *geographical determination* of the places in question," as over against "the *invention* of sites to suit a preconceived theory of the exodus!"[1]

Traces of more than one Migdol in Lower Egypt are not lacking in the Arabic and Coptic nomenclature of that region. Champollion[2] pointed out two places there which bear the Coptic name "Meshtol"[3]—by which the Coptic version renders the name Migdol in Exodus 14: 2. Ebers[4] would see a correspondence of the Coptic "Meshtol" with the Arabic "Maschtûl,"[5] and "of such Maschtûls" he says "there were a moderately great number, according to the tax-list given by Silvestre de Sacy in his translation of Abd-el-Lateef." At all events, in addition to these supposed identifications, it is evident that there are traces of an ancient Migdol in the neighborhood of each of the three great roads through the Great Wall desertward, as might be supposed from the necessities of the case, in a fortification like that.

1. A Migdol at the central road, or the Way of Shur, stands out in unmistakable identity in the Beer Makhdal, already referred to.[6] In the preservation of the name of an ancient site in Arabic, there is far stronger proof of identity than can be furnished in the filtration of that name through the Greek or Latin. In this instance, the Arabic name corresponds closely with the Hebrew and the Egyptian. The engineers who made the surveys for the great map of the French Commission[7] at the close of the last century, entered that name on their charts in Arabic characters, the phonetic force of which was nearly identical with the Egyptian characters

[1] Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 423, note.

[2] *L'Egypte sous les Pharaons*, II., 69 *f.*, 79 *f.*

[3] Coptic, ⲙⲉϣⲧⲱⲗ.

[4] *Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 523.

[5] Arabic, مشتول.

[6] See page 351, *supra*.

[7] "Carte Topographique," in *Déscrip. de l'Egypte*. It will hardly be claimed that the *savants* of the French Republic of 1798 were influenced in their scientific researches by any preconceived theory of the Hebrew exodus.

that marked the site of that well on the earliest known map in the world's history,[1] as still preserved on the temple walls of Karnak.

2. Although there is no Arabic vestige of a Migdol near the northernmost road, or the Way of the Land of the Philistines, the reference to a Magdolum in the Antonine Itinerary gives a probable trace of the ancient site of a Migdol in that vicinity. But whether that site is at Tell el-Heer, as supposed by many,[2] or at Tell Sahan, as suggested by Pococke,[3] or at Tell es-Samoot, as advocated by Brugsch and others,[4] is by no means clear; nor is it of much importance as bearing on the point now at issue—that there was a Migdol near the northernmost road into Egypt from the East. There is much in favor of the site of Tell el-Heer, from its superior advantages for the place of a look out tower. "From the height of the eminence occupied by these ruins," say Joanne and Isambert,[5] "the eye embraces an extended horizon." "It is at once evident to the eye," adds Chester,[6] "that this was an important frontier fortress, and its importance is such as to justify its being considered the Migdol, or Fortress, *par excellence*, and to justify the Greeks in continuing and perpetuating its more ancient name under that of Magdolon." The claim of Lepsius, as reinforced by Brugsch,[7] that Tell el-Heer is a vestige of "the ancient

[1] It may be a question whether this map is earlier than the map of the gold mines, preserved in a papyrus at the Turin museum (reproduced in fac-simile in Chabas' *Inscriptions des Mines d'Or*, at p. 30).

[2] Joanne and Isambert's *Itinéraire de L'Orient*, p. 1013; Smith's *Ancient Atlas*, Map 39; Keith Johnston's map of "Modern Egypt and Sinai" in *The Bible Atlas;* Chester, in *Surv. of West. Pal.*, "Special Papers," p. 100, etc.

[3] Map in *Descrip. of the East.*

[4] *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 237 *f.*, II., 381; Lepsius's *Denkm.*, Abth. I., Bl. 3; Smith's *Ancient Atlas*, Map 33; Map of Egypt in *A Thousand Miles up the Nile*, etc.

[5] *Itinéraire*, as above.

[6] "Special Papers," *Surv. of West. Pal.*, p. 100.

[7] *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 235 *ff.*, 270; II., 428, 431. It is true that Brugsch says in one place that "there is scarcely a hope of ever again finding the ancient site of the lost Hyksos city of Avaris" (I., 237), but then again he says: "Lepsius, after his jour-

Hau'ar, (or Avaris,) of the Egyptian texts," by no means conflicts with the idea that the Migdol which guarded the northernmost highway into Egypt was located at this point. It is certainly as reasonable to suppose that there was a Migdol at the metropolis of Avaris eastward, as that there was a Migdol at the metropolis of Samhud (Damietta), northward. As against the claim that Tell es-Samoot was the site of a Migdol, it would seem rather that a lookout tower is needed to recognize *that* site, than that it marks the site of a lookout tower. Chester was unable to find its location, or to get any track of it from the Arabs of the region questioned by him.[1] Although Brugsch still insists, and with reason, that the site was known by its present name as early as the fourteenth century, that it is known by all the authors "of modern times, and that no doubt can exist on the subject of this identification," he does not claim that it occupies a commanding position for a look-out tower, over against a royal highway into ancient Egypt; and as every other reason suggested by him for its identification with Migdol has been shown to have no weight, it can now hardly be said that Tell es-Samoot is to be compared with Tell el-Heer for that identification. But, at Tell el-Heer, or at some other point in that region, there is a site of the Magdolum of the Antonine Itinerary, which in its time marked the site of the earlier Migdol that guarded the northernmost highway into Egypt; and so there are found traces of a Migdol for the Way of the Land of the Philistines, as for a Migdol of the Way of Shur.

3. At the southern road also, the "Way of the Wilderness of the Red Sea," there are Arabic traces of the Migdol we should expect to find *there*. A short distance to the northwest of Suez,

ney to these regions *proved, in a clear and perfect manner*, the identity of *Tell el-Hir* with the *Hau'ar*, or *Avaris* of the Egyptian texts" (II., 431). Brugsch can be depended on for both sides of almost any question which has the possibility of a two-fold advantage, in the story of the exodus.

[1] *Surv. of West. Pal.*, "Special Papers," p. 99 *f.*

beyond Qala'at 'Ajrood, there is a station, or a pass, known as *El Maktal,*[1] *El-Muktala,*[2] *El-Muntala,*[3] *El-Muntula,*[4] *Montala,*[5] *or El-Mukhâfeh.*[6] It is directly on the line of the Hajj route, and near the track noted by Brugsch as the "Way of the Bed'ween into Ancient Egypt." The Arabic names for "tower," and "watch-tower," and "outlook," are various, including *mejdel,*[7] *muntâr,*[8] *muntarah,*[9] *mutallah;*[10] and the elements of these names are found in the alternative designations of the pass in question,[11] with the exception of the last named (*El-Mukhâfeh*), and that suggests a place of danger.[12] Wilkinson[13] judged "from its name and position," that this represents "the Migdol of the Bible." It is at a point near which one would naturally expect to find an outlook station,[14] for guarding that entrance into Egypt from the eastward.

[1] See Wilson's *Lands of the Bible*, I., 45.

[2] Wilkinson's *Mod. Egypt and Thebes*, I., 303; Strauss's *Sinai und Golgatha*, p. 91; Keith Johnston's *Royal Atlas*, Map 42; Clark and Grove's *Bible Atlas*, p. 17; *A Thousand Miles up the Nile*, Map; etc.

[3] Lepsius's *Denkm.*, Abth. 1, Bl. 3; Baedeker's *Lower Egypt*, Map of "Suez Canal," etc.

[4] Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, I., 44; Smith's *Anc. Atlas*, map 39; Murray's *Syria and Pal.*, Map of Lower Egypt; etc..

[5] Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria*, p. 629.

[6] This is given as an alternative name by Robinson (*Bib. Res.*, I., 44), with the meaning "fear;" and it appears in Lepsius's *Denkm.*, Abth. 1, Bl. 3.

[7] مجدل. See *Surv. of West. Pal.*, "Name Lists," pp. 30, 52, 85, 114, 131, etc.

[8] منطار. *Ibid.*, pp. 131, 151, 165, 205, 235, etc.

[9] منطرة. *Ibid.*, p. 186. [10] مطلة. *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 432.

[11] Eli Smith (in Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, III., 223, *first ed.*) gives "the ascent" as the meaning of *el-Muntula;* but the illustrations already cited from the *Survey of Western Palestine* show that the name suggests an ascent as for an *outlook.*

[12] Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, I., 44. [13] *Mod. Egypt and Thebes*, I., 303.

[14] Strangely enough Keil and Delitzsch (*Bib. Com.* at Exod. 14: 2) object to identifying this name with Migdol, on the ground "that a tower (מִגְדָּל) [*migdol*] does not indicate a watch-tower (מִצְפֶּה) [*mitspeh*]. Yet it is clear that "migdol" is so applied and rendered again and again in the Old Testament. "The tower [migdol] of the watchman" (2 Kings 17: 9; 18: 8); "There stood a watchman on the tower [migdol]" (2 Kings 9: 17), etc.

Several roads from the north and west come together just before reaching this point, and here is a turn of the main highway toward the Red Sea and the Hajj route at the head of that sea.[1] A hill near the pass bears the same name as the pass;[2] and Burckhardt tells of it as still used as a lookout station by robbers.[3] Laborde[4] also saw an identification with the ancient Migdol in this Arabic name. The very fact that the resemblances are various in the varying names of the place, gives added force to the reasons in support of this identification; for it shows that there has been no modern fixing of the old site in Arabic nomenclature.[5] In spite of all forgetfulness of the earlier signification of the name,[6] and in spite of all the warping influences of a hundred generations, the unmistakable traces of the original name are *there*.

And so we find that "Migdol" is not the name of a single city;

[1] *Mod. Egypt and Thebes*, I., 302–308. [2] See Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, I., 44.

[3] Travels in Syria, p. 629.

[4] Laborde is cited, to this effect, by Dr. Wilson (*Lands of the Bible*, I., 45).

[5] In his partisan advocacy of Brugsch's one-Migdol claim, Philip Smith (*Hist. of Egypt*, II., 427, note) says sweepingly: "A Migdol near the Gulf of Suez is a purely imaginary site invented to suit that theory"—whatever "that theory" may be. But it is evident that the old-time Arabs were responsible for this "invention."

[6] It even seems that the modern Arabs would call this place *Maqtaleh* (مقتلة) "slaughter," or the "place of slaughter" (of Pharaoh's host?), as a change from *Makhdal* (مخدل), or *Mejdel* (مجدل) a "tower;" through their habit of applying an odd name, of forgotten signification, under a new form, or with a new meaning. (See Wilkinson and Wilson, as above.) But the alternative designations of the place stand as added proofs of the earlier meaning. In illustration of the habit of the Arabs here referred to, see Palmer's *Desert of the Exodus*, I., 20, "In many parts of Palestine we find the Hebrew words just sufficiently distorted from their original form to give them an intelligible Arabic meaning. In Wady Feiran, for example, there is an evident reminiscence of the ancient name Paran. The Bedawîn are unable to pronounce the letter *p*, and the word becoming *Faran*, the Valley of *Mice*, a name which would appear particularly applicable to a place where their monkish predecessors had covered the hill-sides with excavated tombs and cells resembling, as the natives say, the burrows of field mice or jerboas." See also *Surv. of West. Pal.*, "Name Lists," p. 58 (*En-Nakurah*).

but is a common noun applied to many an outlook-tower in Egypt and beyond. And especially are there traces of a Migdol at, or near, each of the three great highways out of Lower Egypt eastward. This leaves still untouched the question, Which Migdol is referred to in the Bible story of the Exodus?

8. NO CITIES ON THE ROUTE.

A similar error to that so commonly made with reference to Migdol, has misled students at several other points in the exodus story. The search has been for the site of a city or a town, when no city or town was referred to in the Bible record. As Etham was a Wall, and as Migdol was a Tower, so the earlier stations of Succoth and Rameses were districts or regions, and not cities—of which the ruins are likely to be unearthed in the course of later Egyptian researches.

There has been a vast deal of discussion over the probable site of the city of Rameses; and there have been attempts to show that the treasure-city,[1] or more properly the grain-magazine,[2]

[1] Exod. 1: 11.

[2] "It is said of the Israelites (Exod. 1: 11), 'They built for Pharaoh treasure cities, Pithom and Raamses' (*vayyeben 'arai meskinoth le-Phare'oh eth-Pithom va-eth Ra'amses* ויבן ערי מסכנות לפרעה את־פתם ואת־רעמסס). Whatever the Egyptologists may bring forward to prove the word *meskinoth* (מכסנות) Egyptian, the unprejudiced investigator cannot part with the conviction that it is a regularly formed Hebrew word, and comes from a genuine Hebrew root. *Meskinoth* (מסכנות) means nothing else than magazines in which grain and food were stored. See 2 Chron. 32: 28, magazines (*oomeskinoth lethbooath dagan ve-teerosh ve-yitshar* ומסכנות לתבואת דגן ותירוש ויצהר) for the tithes of grain, wine and oil. In Deut. 8: 9 it is said of Palestine: 'A land in which thou shalt not eat bread out of magazines' [as in Egypt] (*Erets asher lo bimeskenuth tokal beh lekhem.* ארץ אשר לא במסכנת תאכל בה לחם). That *meskenuth* (מִסְכֵּנֻת) signifies the same as *meskinoth* (מִסְכְּנוֹת) certainly will not be disputed. Pithom and Raamses, then, were towns in which reserves of bread stuffs lay stored." (Graetz's *Gesch. d. Juden*, I., 382.)

"The treasure cities, or store cities, were probably erections at the termini or prin-

named in our English version as "Raamses,"[1] one of the two treasuries built by the Hebrews during the period of the oppression, was the same as "Rameses," the starting point of the Israelites on their exodus.[2] It has been claimed, with a good show of reason, that the city of Zoan,[3] or Tanis,[4] or Sân,[5] was the capital city of Rameses II. and his sons; and the further claim has been made (although that point is in dispute), that this city, having been enlarged and practically rebuilt by Rameses II., received the name "Rameses" at that time.[6] And out of all this discussion there has come the popular opinion, that the starting point of the Israelites was at the capital of the Pharaohs. Yet this opinion not only has no syllable of proof on which to rest, in the Bible text; but it is in direct conflict with the specific statements and the general tenor of that text.

When the Hebrews came into Egypt, in the days of Joseph, they were assigned a dwelling-place in the land of Goshen.[7] The region given to them at that time is called by prolepsis "the land of Rameses."[8] This *may* mean that it was the land on the verge of which they afterwards built the treasure-city Raamses, or

cipal stations of the caravan routes, such as are seen at the present day, for the accommodation of merchandise." (Wilson's *Lands of Bible*, I., 119.)

Saadias (the Arabic translator of the Bible), for the term "treasure cities," gives "cities, magazines." So, again, does Eli Smith in the modern Arabic version.

[1] Exod. 1: 11.

[2] Exod. 12: 37; Num. 33: 3.

[3] "Zoan" is the name given in the Hebrew text (Num. 13: 22; Psa. 78: 12, 43; Isa. 19: 11, 13; 30: 4; Ezek. 30: 14). It differs but slightly from that given in the Egyptian records. (See Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 383; Ebers's *Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 512 *f.*; Poole's *Cities of Egypt*, p. 80 *f.*)

[4] "Tanis" (Τάνις), is the Greek form and it appears in the Septuagint.

[5] "Sân" is the modern Arabic name.

[6] See Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 97–103; 383–386; Poole's *Cities of Egypt*, pp. 81–84. Ebers thinks (see his *Gosen zum Sinai*, pp. 512–518) that there were two cities bearing that name; one at the site of Zoan, and the other in the region of the land of Goshen.

[7] Gen. 46: 28–34; 47: 1–6, 27.

[8] Gen. 47: 11.

Rameses. But if, as is commonly supposed, they came to Egypt under a Hykshos Pharaoh, whose court was at Tanis,[1] or at Memphis,[2] or at Avaris,[3] they certainly were not in close proximity to *that* capital city (whichever city it was); for they merely settled in "the land of Rameses" with a particular view to their separation from the Egyptian capital and court of then.[4]

At the time of the conferences of Moses with Pharaoh, over the release of the Israelites from bondage, when the Lord "wrought his signs in Egypt, and his wonders in the field of Zoan,"[5] it is evident that "the land of Rameses," in Goshen, where the Israelites had their dwelling, was quite distinct and apart from the capital city of Lower Egypt; and that even Moses himself was not then a dweller near the court of Pharaoh. When the plague of hail came, "and the hail smote throughout all the land of Egypt all that was in the field, both man and beast," then "in the land of Goshen, where the children of Israel were, was there no hail."[6] And this was but a repetition of the division shown between Goshen and the rest of Egypt in the plague of flies.[7] So, again, when "there was a thick darkness in all the land of Egypt three days," "all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings"—in Goshen.[8] And during all the period of those plagues, Moses and Aaron went back and forth between the city of Pharaoh's abode and the homes of the Israelites, as if the two places were at a considerable distance apart. The Lord's command came more than once to Moses, in words that in Oriental speech are indicative

[1] Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, I., 55; Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 300-302, 306; Lenormant and Chevallier's *Anc. Hist. of the East*, I., 197, 223; Philip Smith's *Anc. Hist. of the East*, p. 98; Bartlett's *Egypt to Pal.*, p. 122, etc.

[2] Wilson's *Lands of the Bible*, I., 116 *ff.*; Birch's *Egypt*, p. 75; Palmer's *Des. of Exod.*, I., 270, etc.; Sharpe, in Bartlett's *Forty Days*, p. 25 *f.*

[3] Poole's *Cities of Egypt*, p. 71 *f.*; Birch's *Egypt*, p. 75; Sharpe's *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 30 *f.*, etc.

[4] Gen. 46: 28. [5] Psa. 78: 43.

[6] Exod. 9: 26. [7] Exod. 8: 22. [8] Exod. 10: 21-23.

of a start for a journey: "Rise up early in the morning, and stand before Pharaoh."[1] And when Moses returned from the mission on which he had thus been sent, "Moses went out of the city from Pharaoh."[2]

A search for the site of the city of Rameses is a very laudable pursuit; and if it could be shown that the city of Rameses was the capital city of the Pharaohs in the days of the exodus, and if its site could be established incontrovertibly,—then at least it would be an established and an incontrovertible fact, that *there* was the sure site of one place in Lower Egypt from which the Israelites did *not* start. When the children of Israel came into Egypt, they settled down "in the land of Rameses," which was in, or which was, "the land of Goshen." When they started out of Egypt, "the children of Israel removed from Rameses"—"the land of Rameses," which was in, or which was, "the land of Goshen." The land of Goshen may have had the new treasure-city (or grain magazine) of Raamses, or of Rameses, on its border; but that *city* was not an abode of the Israelites; nor was it a starting point of their exodus. Their starting point was "the land," or the district, "of Rameses."

The land of Goshen, in which, or which was, the land of Rameses, is fairly well identified. The various references to it in the Bible text and on the Egyptian monuments, as well as later historical data,[3]

[1] Exod. 8: 20; 9: 13. The Hebrew term employed here (שָׁכַם, *shakham*, to "put on the shoulder") is an Oriental phrase applied to getting ready for a caravan start. "It seems to signify, primarily, *to load up* camels and other beasts of burden, which among the nomades is done very early in the morning; hence 'to set off early.'" (Gesenius's *Heb. Lex.*, s. v. "*shakham*.") See also Fürst's *Heb. und Chald. Wörterb.*: "to load up." Compare the Bible uses of this word as noted in Young's *Analyt. Concord.*: Gen. 22: 3; 28: 18; 31: 55; Num. 14: 40; Josh. 3: 1, etc.

[2] Exod. 6: 20.

[3] See Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, I., 51-53; Wilson's *Lands of the Bible*, I., 117; Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 349, 369, 443; Ebers's *Gosen zum Sinai*, pp. 500-513; Bartlett's *Egypt to Pal.*, pp. 129-137; Poole's *Cities of Egypt*, pp. 92-96.

all go to fix it as including the Wady Toomilât[1] (which sweeps from above Cairo, northerly and easterly toward Lakes Timsâh and Ballah), together with more or less of the country on either side of that wady. Ebers[2] outlines this region graphically, when he says: "As far as it is possible to fix its ancient limitations, it exhibits the form of a cornucopia, bounded toward the east, at the widest end or opening of the cornucopia, by the water-way [the series of lakes through which runs the Suez Canal] that divides Africa from Asia. The fresh-water canal which already existed at the time of the sojourn of the Jews in Egypt, and which was reopened by M. de Lesseps, washes its southern frontier: the lake of Menzaleh lies to the north of it, and to the west the Tanitic arm of the Nile—which has now dwindled to a narrow water course." There are many who would not carry the Goshen district west of the Pelusiac arm of the Nile, but who would extend it southward somewhat below the fresh-water canal. Apart from these differences, however, the boundaries indicated by Ebers would be generally accepted among scholars.

It was from their many homes in the length and breadth of this land of Rameses-Goshen, that the Israelites took their hurried start after that first passover night, which inaugurated their exodus. "And the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses to Succoth, about six hundred thousand on foot that were men, beside children. And a mixed multitude went up also with them; and flocks and herds, even very much cattle."[3] It was from no single city that such a host as that went out. Nor did they seek a city as a place of rendezvous. Any research which looks to identifying the re-

[1] "The general situation of Goshen is conceded. And whatever question may exist as to its extent, it is agreed that the Wady Tûmilat was a part of it; was, in the language of Schleiden, 'the kernel of it.' We may also consider it an admitted fact that, in accordance with the testimony of Aristotle, Strabo and Pliny, corroborated by the evidence of ancient remains, and accepted by such writers as Bunsen, Brugsch, Wilkinson and Mariette, the canal from the Nile ran along that wady." (Bartlett's *Egypt to Pal.*, p. 156.)

[2] *Pict. Egypt.*, I., 87 *f.*

[3] Exod. 12: 37–38.

mains of some city starting-point, or of some hotel stopping-place, of the Israelites in their exodus, will be misdirected effort in its immediate object. Yet there has been a great deal of fruitless discussion over the possibilities and the results of such research.[1]

"And the children of Israel removed from Rameses, and pitched in Succoth."[2] It would appear that up to this time there had been no assembling of this people for a common movement. They were not brought together for a start from the land of Rameses-Goshen. In the evening each family in its own home had eaten of the passover meal. During the night an order had been issued for a hurried start on the long-planned pilgrimage. "On the morrow after the passover the children of Israel went out with a high hand in the sight of all the Egyptians."[3] Moving out from their various homes in the land of Rameses-Goshen, the Israelites must first find their way to a common rendezvous, in order to their united movement, as one people, from Egypt into the wilderness beyond. That place of their rendezvous was Succoth.

9. TAKING TIME AND BAKHSHEESH.

It is not necessary to suppose that all the Israelites reached Succoth on the day of their hurried start from their homes in Rameses-Goshen. There is nothing in the Bible text that requires such a supposition; and there is much in the nature of the case to

[1] Since the above was written, a striking illustration of this mode of treating the exodus of the Israelites as if it were the journey of a commercial traveler, is given in Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole's sketch of "The Discovery of Pithom-Succoth," in the "British Quarterly Review" (for July, 1883): "I have not only walked within the very rooms which the Israelites built, but I have slept a night where the Israelites slept a night when Moses led them out of the land of Egypt." Almost anywhere along the route from the Delta to Sinai, a man would have to sleep by day and travel by night, if he would avoid sleeping a night where some of the Israelites slept a night when Moses led them out of the land of Egypt.

[2] Num. 33: 5.

[3] Num. 33: 3.

forbid it. The start was made on the fifteenth day of the new year of the Israelites.[1] "On the fifteenth day of the second month after their departing out of the land of Egypt,"[2] they came to "the Wilderness of Sin," which was their eighth station beyond Rameses-Goshen. At the briefest, the intervening period was a full month;[3] which had been spent at or between the stations named. This gives an average of say four days to each stage. From the intimations of the time occupied between the Red Sea and Elim,[4] it might even be supposed that ten days would be an ample period for the movement and rest on *that* side of the Egyptian border; leaving twenty days between the hurried start of the Israelites from their homes, and their midnight crossing of the Red Sea.[5] This would easily allow several days for the gathering at the Succoth rendezvous.

Uncalled-for barriers to an understanding of the Bible narrative have been raised, by a popular belief that all the preparations of the Israelites for their departure out of Egypt had to be made during the passover night, and that the first stage of their journey was passed before the morning of the coming day. Nothing of that sort can be fairly inferred from the Bible text.

[1] Comp. Exod. 12: 1-20, 29-39; Num. 33: 3. [2] Exod. 16: 1.

[3] This would seem, on the face of it, to be the plain meaning of the text. They went out from Rameses on the fifteenth day of the *first* month; they came to Sin on the fifteenth day of the *second* month. So think "Rashi" (*'al ha-Torah*); Bush (*Notes on Exod.*); Murphy (*Com. on Exodus*); all *in loco*; Kurtz (*Hist. of Old Cov.*, III., 12) and others. But Canon Cook (*Speaker's Com.* in loco) speaks of the time as "two months and a half," and again as "six weeks," and Geikie (*Hours with the Bible*, II., 176) seems to think that the computation of time at Elim dates from the passage of the Red Sea, and that ten weeks or more may have elapsed after the passover-night, before Pharaoh started in pursuit of the Hebrews.

[4] Comp. Exod. 15: 22-27; Num. 33: 8-10.

[5] "According to Jewish tradition, the passage through the sea and the song of Moses belong to the seventh day after the celebration of the passover in Egypt. We have no decisive evidence to the contrary; at the same time it cannot be positively established from the original narrative." (Kurtz's *Hist. of Old Cov.*, II., 307.)

While Moses was yet in the wilderness of Horeb, the whole plan of the wonders in Egypt, with their sure result, was foretold to him, and he was directed to lay it all before the elders of his people.[1] Then it was, also, that the instructions were issued, that the Israelites in making ready for their leaving Egypt should ask the customary gifts[2] ("bakhsheesh" such gifts are called in the East to-day [3]) from those whom they had served, and among whom they had lived; now that they were to leave that land and go out on a sacred pilgrimage, for an observance of a sacred feast.[4]

[1] Exod. 3: 1–22.

[2] At the three days' festival which follows Ramadân, the month of fasting, in modern Egypt. as in other Muhammadan countries, "servants and other dependents receive presents of new articles of clothing from their masters or patrons; and the servant receives presents of small sums of money from his master's friends, whom, if they do not visit his master, he goes to congratulate; as well as from any former master." (Lane's *Thousand and One Nights*, p. 62 *f.*) A Turkish writer (Oscanyan, in *The Sultan and His People*, p. 86 *f.*) speaks of the generous giving to the poorer pilgrims who are starting for Mekkeh: "But few can withhold a tribute. The miser opens his hoards, and the widow adds her slender mite; the grandee and the slave, one and all, gladly answer the appeal of their fellows," at such a time. A person coming back from a pilgrimage may bring presents. "When a person arrives from a foreign country, he generally brings some articles of the produce or merchandise of the country as presents to his friends. Thus, pilgrims returning from the holy places bring water of Zemzem, dust from the prophet's tomb, etc., for this purpose." (*Thousand and One Nights* I., 23.) But departing guests would expect to receive gifts rather than to give them (See Pierotti's *Customs and Traditions of Pal.*, p. 89). This, although the cry for *bakhsheesh* is now often raised against those who go as well as against those who come.

[3] This term, in one form or another, with the uniform idea of a present or gift, is in use from the Straits of Gibraltar to India.

[4] "Let my people go, that they may hold a feast [literally, a *khag* (חג), or a *hajj*] unto me in the wilderness" (Exod. 5: 1), was the first message of God to Pharaoh at the hand of Moses. The *hajj* of the East means more than a mere pilgrimage journey. From time immemorial it has included the idea of circumambulatory movements in some way, as the Hebrew word here used would indicate. (See Gesenius and Fürst, *s. v.*) Making a sevenfold circuit of the sacred Ka'aba at Mekkeh, and making a similar circuit of the sacred sepulchre in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, are but illustrations of the well-nigh universal idea. It is illus-

In the Hebrew, there is no necessary suggestion of any "borrowing" from the Egyptians, as if with a proposal to return the things received. The term employed means "ask,"[1] rather than "borrow." It evidently refers to the custom, which is fresh now as always in the unchangeable East, of soliciting a gift on the eve of a departure, or on the closing of any term of service of any sort whatsoever.[2] That this was the custom in that day, as it is now,

trated again in the primitive ceremony at the annual feast, or hajj, at the ancient tomb of Neby-Saleh, near Mount Sinai (see Palmer's *Des. of Exod.*, I., 50 *f.*, 262–264); also in the common method of worship at the chapel-tomb of any Arab saint (see Lane's *Thousand and One Nights*, I., 215). The circuit by which the Israelites were led in all their pilgrimage,—until it ended by their sevenfold circuit of the city of Jericho (Josh. 6: 2–6, 20), and then moved every man straight before him into the first secured stronghold of their new inheritance,—was longer and stranger than they had dreamed of.

[1] *Shaal* (שָׁאַל). "To ask for either by way of demand or entreaty." (Gesenius's *Heb. Lex.*, s. v.) This is precisely the idea of "bakhsheesh."

[2] "In Palestine men are born, live and die, to the one tune 'bakhshîsh, bakhshîsh,'" says Pierotti (*Customs and Traditions of Pal.*, p. 88 *ff.*). "It may perhaps be said," he adds, "that the custom exists generally in the East, and this is true; but it is nowhere so rampant and so unreasonable as in Palestine." Yet he who enters the East at Egypt will be likely to think that *there* is the region above all others, where the asking of gifts (for the call for bakhsheesh is distinct from begging) is the surest accompaniment of meeting and of parting. Burton says (*Pilgrimage to El Medinah*, etc., p. 121): "'Bakhshish' was the last as well as the first odious sound I heard in Egypt." And Macgregor, (*Rob Roy on the Jordan*, p. 20), who entered the East at Egypt and went thence to Palestine, has re-phrased and extended this statement in his testimony: "'Backshish!' was the first cry I heard in the East; and the last I heard there, after wandering long, was 'Backshish!'" As to the correspondence of this custom with that of olden time, Pierotti says confidently, "The Arabs only follow (though carrying to excess) the practice of the Hebrews in the matter of bakhshîsh." There could hardly be a better illustration of the extent to which this asking of bakhsheesh is carried throughout the East, than that given in the experience of Burckhardt, who learned so much of the ways of the Arabs, and who told it so well. He moved among them as one of them. Wherever he went he found them accustomed to ask gifts not only on any occasion when there was a show of reason for it, but also whenever they knew that a person had anything worth asking for. "An article of dress, or of equipment, which the poorest townsman would be

is indicated in many Bible references to the giving of gifts;[1] but more explicitly in the divine command to the Israelites themselves not to forget the bakhsheesh when they released a servant at the beginning of the sabbatical year: "And when thou sendest him out free from thee, thou shalt not let him go away empty: thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock, and out of thy [threshing] floor, and out of thy winepress: of that wherewith the Lord thy God hath blessed thee thou shalt give unto him." And, as if the receiving of gifts from the Egyptians was to be brought to mind by this observance of the custom which was in that instance illustrated, it is added: "And thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt, and the Lord thy God redeemed

ashamed to wear, is still a covetable article with the Bedouins," he said. "They set no bounds to their demands; delicacy is unknown among them, nor have they any word to express it. If indeed one persists in refusing, they never take the thing by force; but it is extremely difficult to resist their eternal supplications and compliments without yielding at last." When he had given away as a present, or had exchanged for poorer ones, his every personal ornament or attractive article of dress, even to his "leathern girdle and shoes," and had cut down the tube of his tobacco pipe "from two yards to a span," in response to the incessant calls on him for gifts, he "expected to be freed from all further demands;" but he was mistaken. "I had forgotten," he says, "some rags torn from my shirt, which were tied round my ancles, wounded by the stirrups which I had received in exchange from the sheikh of Kerak. These rags happening to be of white linen, some of the ladies of the Howeytat thought they might serve to make a berkoa, or face veil, and whenever I stepped out of the tent I found myself surrounded by half a dozen of them, begging for the rags. In vain I represented that they were absolutely necessary to me in the wounded state of my ancles: their answer was, 'You will soon reach Cairo, where you may get as much linen as you like.' By this incessant teasing me, they at last obtained their wishes." (Burckhardt's *Trav. in Syria*, pp. 399 *f.*, 438.) Burckhardt would not have stumbled at the Bible declaration, that the Israelites asked bakhsheesh from their old neighbors on leaving them for a religious pilgrimage; nor would Bishop Colenso have done so, if he had lived among Orientals instead of among South Africans.

[1] See Gen. 12: 16; 20: 14, 16; 32: 13–15; 33: 11; 43: 11; Judg. 3: 15–18; 1 Sam. 9: 7; 17: 18; 25: 18, 19, 23–27; 2 Kings 5: 15, 16, 21–23, 26; 8: 8, 9; 16: 8; 20: 12; Ezek. 27: 15; Matt. 2: 11.

thee: [and you received bakhsheesh] therefore I command thee this thing [of giving bakhsheesh to your departing servants] to-day."[1]

In directing the request for bakhsheesh from the Egyptians, the Lord added a promise that he would give his people "favor in the sight of the Egyptians"[2] so that the gifts received should be large and many; so numerous and valuable, in fact, that it would be as though they had taken the "spoil" of the Egyptians[3] after a victorious battle; such a battle for example, as that of the Israelites with the Midianites in the plains of Moab, when among the "spoils" given into the Lord's treasury were "jewels of gold, chains, and bracelets, rings, ear-rings, and tablets;"[4] or, again, the battle when Gideon triumphed over the Midianites, "and the weight of the golden earrings" of the spoil "was a thousand and seven hundred shekels of gold; besides ornaments, and collars, and purple raiment that was on the kings of Midian, and besides the chains that were about their camels' necks."[5]

And all that the Lord had directed and promised was reported by Moses and Aaron, not only to the elders but to the people generally, on the first coming again of Moses into Egypt. "And the people believed: and when they heard that the Lord had visited the children of Israel, and that he had looked upon their affliction, then they bowed their heads and worshipped."[6] From that time forward preparations were making for the final move.

After the ninth plague, the Israelites were told that the tenth plague would be followed by their going out on their journey unmolested.[7] Instructions were renewed for the asking of the bakhsheesh,[8] and doubtless the gifts were then obtained.[9] Ample notice

[1] Deut. 15: 13–15. [2] Exod. 3: 21, 22. [3] Exod. 3: 22.
[4] Num. 31: 7–12, 48–50. [5] Judg. 8: 26. [6] Exod. 4: 31.
[7] Exod. 11: 1. [8] Exod. 11: 2.

[9] Exod. 11: 3. The subsequent reference to this asking (Exod. 12: 35, 36), and its results, at the time of the exodus, is to be understood as a mention of what had been

was given in advance of the passover-night.[1] The Israelites were to have all things in readiness for an immediate move on the morrow after that night; and this included the having their flocks and herds prepared for a start. They were even to stand at their passover-feast, having their loins girded about for a march, and having sandals on their feet and a staff in their hand; awaiting perhaps an agreed signal for a movement at the early dawn.

It was at midnight that the first-born of Egypt were smitten.[2] Not until after that were Moses and Aaron sent for by the king.[3] Then followed directions for the exodus.[4] A single flashing light, by the order of Moses on his coming out from the city of the king, or a single wave of a signal banner in the early morning, might have been sufficient in view of arrangements already made,[5] to start the order from lookout to lookout over all the land of Rameses-Goshen,[6] and to set the mighty multitude in motion, toward the appointed rendezvous at Succoth.

As an illustration of the multiplication of difficulties in the Bible narrative, by their ingenious manufacture, the exhibit in this line by Bishop Colenso, in his description of the first move of the Israelites, is really worthy of reproduction just here; for his *method* of criticism is by no means yet out of date. He says:[7] "We are required to believe that, in one single day, the order to

done. The Hebrew language has no such division of tenses as the English. "The children of Israel did according to the word of Moses," is only a Hebrew way of saying, "the children of Israel had done according to the word of Moses."

[1] Exod. 12: 1–6. [2] Exod. 12: 29. [3] Exod. 12: 30, 31. [4] Exod. 12: 31–33.

[5] Comp. Exod. 4: 29–31; 5: 15; 6: 13–25; 11: 1–8; 12: 1–28.

[6] The order for the celebration of the passover-feast in commemoration of the exodus, was announced, year by year, in the later days of the Hebrew occupancy of Canaan, by the flashing of signal lights, first on the brow of the Mount of Olives, and then from hill-top to hill-top over all the land not only from Dan to Beersheba, but "far beyond the boundaries of Palestine to those of the dispersion 'beyond the river.'" See, on this point, Edersheim's *The Temple, its Ministry*, etc., p. 170 *f.*

[7] *The Pentateuch*, I., 114 *f.*

start was communicated suddenly, at midnight, to every single family of every town and village, throughout a tract of country as large as Hertfordshire, but ten times as thickly peopled;—that in obedience to such order, having first 'borrowed' very largely from their Egyptian neighbors in all directions (though, if we are to suppose Egyptians occupying the *same* territory with the Hebrews, the extent of it must be very much increased), they then came in from all parts of Goshen to Rameses, bringing with them the sick and infirm, the young and the aged;—further, that, since receiving the summons they had sent out to gather in all their flocks and herds, spread over so wide a district, and had driven them also to Rameses;—and, lastly, that having done all this, since they were roused at midnight, they were started again from Rameses that very same day, and marched on to Succoth, not leaving a single sick or infirm person, a single woman in child-birth, or even a 'single hoof' (Exod. 10: 26) behind them! This is, undoubtedly, what the story in the book of Exodus requires us to believe. (Exod. 12: 31–41, 51)."

Yet there is hardly a single statement in that extended description which has any basis in either the letter or the general tenor of the Bible narrative. And that is a fair example of the difficulties in the narratives of the Pentateuch which Bishop Colenso deliberately, and, as it is claimed, conscientiously, put before the public as a source of perplexity to him and his Zulu flock. Nor is Bishop Colenso alone as a critic in this sort of misrepresenting the Bible narrative, as a preliminary to claiming its unreasonableness at the point where it is misrepresented.

In no instance is it said that a day's journey took the Israelites from one station, or formal encampment, to the next; if we except the crossing of the Red Sea during a single night.[1] It is dis-

[1] The strange objection made by Colenso, and others of his stamp, to admitting the reasonable probability of rest-days between or at stations is: "Nothing whatever

tinctly declared that it was "on the morrow" after the passover, that they began their hurried move toward Succoth. It is by no means probable, nor have we any call from the text itself to suppose, that every family from the remoter portions of the land of Rameses-Goshen reached the common rendezvous on the day of their setting out. But sooner or later, all the Israelites, with all the "mixed multitude" of Semitic and Egyptian refugees which accompanied them, were together at Succoth.

10. THE PLACE OF RENDEZVOUS.

Succoth[1] is a Hebrew word; not an Egyptian one.[2] It means "booths" or "tents,"[3] and so a "place of booths," or "a place of tents."[4] It is a term that might naturally be applied to a common camping-ground, to a region where nomads, or tenters, were in the habit of pitching their tents. There is such a locality, for example, a short distance outside of Cairo—at Birket el-Hajj[5]—

is said or implied about these 'days of rest' in the Scripture. There would surely have been some reference made to them, if they really occurred." (Colenso's *The Pent.*, p. 116.) Imagine this claim applied to every Bible narrative. For example: Jacob slept at Bethel one night. His next recorded stop is in Haran. (Gen. 28: 18, 19; 29: 1-4.) Of course he made the intervening "journey" in a day!

[1] *Sukkah* (סֻכָּה); in the plural, *Sukkoth* (סֻכּוֹת).

[2] Even of the Egyptian word which Brugsch would identify with Succoth, he says: "The meaning . . . can be established only by help of the Semitic" (*Hist. of Egypt*, I., 233; II., 373). Ebers (*Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 520) thinks he sees in it a likeness to another Egyptian term. As the word is found in a Hebrew record, and has a well-defined Hebrew meaning, it is but fair to accept that meaning as the intended one, in the absence of proof to the contrary. Any corroboration or correspondence of the Hebrew meaning in the Egyptian records is, of course, legitimate.

[3] Comp. 2 Sam. 11: 11; 22: 12; 1 Kings 20: 12; Psa. 31: 20.

[4] See Gesenius and Fürst, *s. v.* It is a frequent thing in the Hebrew, to apply a common noun to a locality, with the added idea of "the place of." Thus, *e. g.*, "Gilgal," "Rolling"; the "Place of Rolling" (Josh. 5: 9-10).

[5] "Birkett el-Hajj, or the Pilgrim's Lake, where the last stragglers can join the

where the great Hajj caravan for Mekkeh makes its final rendezvous for a start every year. There is another such common camping-ground across the Red Sea southeasterly from Suez, where the pilgrims from the East are tediously quarantined. Again there is another, near Castle Nakhl, where every caravan from the east or west camps for a longer or shorter time. There was evidently a region of this sort between the line of lakes which formed the eastern boundary of the land of Goshen (or perhaps from a little west of that line, and the Great Wall (the Khetam-Etham-Shur), which lay between Lower Egypt and the Wilderness.[1] At that Succoth, the Israelites probably made their rendezvous.

It is clear from the Egyptian records,[2] that the Shasoo, or Bed'ween, or nomads of the desert, were in the habit of finding their way into the Delta, and pitching their tents inside the Great Wall. A reference has already been made[3] to an official's report in the days of Meneptah II., telling of the admission of Edomitish Shasoo through the Great Wall into the region of "the lakes of the city Pi-tum of Mineptah-Hotephima, which are situated in the land of Thuku, in order to feed themselves and to feed their herds on the possessions of Pharaoh."[4] For the region thus occupied by the Shasoo-tenters, between the Great Wall and the lakes (and more or less to the west of the lakes) on the eastern borders of the Delta, the term "Succoth" would be a most natural designation; and its location corresponds with the in-

caravan, where the skins are refilled with water, and the leader at last gives the definite signal for a final start eastwards, across the sandy wastes of the Arabian desert" (Ebers's *Pict. Egypt*, II., 130).

1 Niebuhr (*Beschreibung von Arabien*, p. 358) suggests that the Succoth-rendezvous of the Israelites was Birket el-Hajj. This shows his understanding of the nature of their camping-place; but from the known limits of the land of Goshen, and the direction of the Israelites' route, as indicated in the text, it is evident that Succoth must have been well eastward of Birket el-Hajj.

2 See Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 247 *f.*; II., 132 *f.*

3 See page 329, *supra*.

4 *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 133.

dications in the Bible text of the Succoth-rendezvous of the Israelites.

Brugsch argues strongly for the correspondence of the Egyptian "Thuku," or Thukoo (as mentioned in the above named record), with the Hebrew "Succoth."[1] In his opinion, the Egyptian word, like the Hebrew one, meant "tent," or "tent-camp," and was applied to a district on the pastures of which "the wandering Bedouins of the eastern deserts pitched their tents to procure necessary food for their cattle." Ebers, however,[2] would derive the name Succoth from the hieroglyphic "Sekhet" (which has the meaning of "a field"); a place which he thinks was near Lake Timsâh. But this meaning does not materially differ from the other; nor is the probable location changed by its adoption. It merely gives a "campus" for a "camping-place."

As to the location of the Egyptian Thukoo, it is shown by the monuments, that Pi-tum (the House of [the god] Tum), which probably was the Pithom of the Bible text—was the chief city of the district of Thukoo; that that city was situated "at the entrance of the East;"[3] and that it was near the lakes[4] of the eastern border. This is just where all indications would tend to fix the location of Succoth, in the narrative of the exodus; and it is where Ebers finds his Sekhet. As has been shown,[5] the land of Rameses-Goshen was in the general shape of a cornucopia, with its mouth, or opening, by the line of lakes between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. Out from that Rameses-Goshen cornucopia, the children of Israel poured forth in their flight, into the Succoth, or common Tenting-place, at the entrance of the East along those lakes.

Explorations in the Delta, made since this writing was begun,

[1] *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 233 *f.*; II., 373, 431 *ff.* [2] *Gosen zum Sinai*, pp. 510 *f.*, 520.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 510; also Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 233 *f.*

[4] See page 393, *supra*. [5] See page 383, *supra*.

have seemed to identify the site of Pi-tum, or Pithom, at Tell el-Maskhootah,[1] a short distance west of Lake Timsâh. This corresponds very well with all the hints of both the Hebrew and Egyptian texts, toward locating a chief city of Succoth; if it only be borne in mind, that the temple-city, with its guarded grain-magazines, of an entire border district, is not the district itself, nor yet, of necessity, in the centre of that district. Such a city would naturally be on the *inner* border of the district, as the safer location.[2] Pi-tum, or Pithom, was not Thukoo, or Succoth; but Pi-tum, or Pithom, seems to have been the chief city of Thukoo, or Succoth, and as such it might well have been located at the westernmost stretch of Thukoo or Succoth—between the Shasoo-tenters and the Hebrew-fellaheen. *There* would seem to be the place for the fortified granary of the fertile district sweeping eastward from Goshen. And all this goes to show, that Succoth was a well-known Tenting-field, along the line of lakes of which Lake Timsâh is a centre.[3]

11. THE FIRST UNITED MOVE.

And this would seem to make clear the region of the starting point, and the region of the first gathering place, of the children of Israel, at the time of their exodus. "And the children of Israel journeyed from [the land of] Rameses to [their rendezvous

[1] See "The Discovery of Pithom-Succoth," in *Brit. Quart. Rev.*, for July, 1883.

[2] The chief city of the district of Goshen (Qosem, or Pa-qosem) seems to have been at the western stretch of that district. (See Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 349, 369; also Ebers's *Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 519 *f.*)

[3] In incidental proof of the error of Brugsch, in his locating of Pithom and Succoth (near the borders of Lake Menzaleh) is his own use of the Egyptian scribe's report of the pursuit of fugitives toward the desert. That scribe reached the fortress of Thukoo on the *tenth* day of the month, and in zealous haste he reached Khetam, or the Great Wall, on the *twelfth* day. Yet Brugsch insists, in the face of this, that Khetam (Etham) and Thukoo (Succoth) are only *one* day's caravan march apart. (Comp. *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 387, 389, 390.)

at] Succoth."[1] And when they had all gathered at that Tenting-place near the lakes, and were finally ready for their pilgrimage, "they took their journey from Succoth, and encamped in[2] Etham [that is, inside, or within, the Great Wall, which is], in[2] [or, at] the edge of the wilderness."[3] And now they were at the extremest limit of the land of Egypt, with only the frowning Wall between them and the forbidding desert.

They had left their homes with the promise of being led toward Canaan.[4] A three-days journey into, or across, the desert was the length of the proposed stretch before them, after they should once be fairly outside the Great Wall which bounded the wilderness.[5] With this in their minds, their natural course would be out from Rameses-Goshen into Succoth, and up from Succoth toward the northernmost road of Egypt, the directest and shortest road into Canaan; the "Way of the Land of the Philistines," as that road was called.[6] As they had received the royal permission to journey into the wilderness[7] beyond the Great Wall, they were doubtless supplied with the needful authority to pass the guards at the gate, or sally-port, of the frontier fortifications. But instead of moving directly out, they encamped *within* the Wall which was on the edge of the wilderness. Instead of hastening through the border barrier, they halted before it. And why?

12. A SHARP TURN AND ITS PURPOSE.

It was not for the people to move or to rest entirely at their own will. As it was common for Eastern armies to be guided by a

[1] Exod. 12: 37.

[2] The Hebrew word is *be* (בּ), "in," "within," or "at."

[3] Exod. 13: 20.

[4] See Exod. 3: 7, 8, 15–17; 4: 29–31; 6: 2–8; 14: 3–5, 11, 12.

[5] Exod. 3: 18; 5: 3; 8: 25–27. A three days' journey might have taken them from Shur to Kadesh.

[6] See page 338, *supra*.

[7] Exod. 12: 30–33.

column of smoke moving on in their van by day, and by a streaming banner of flame before them in the night;[1] so now, as

[1] Traveling by night is a favorite practice with Eastern caravans, because of the heat of the day in contrast with the coolness of the night. Burton illustrates this in his *Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah* (American edition, pp. 153-166). Roberts tells of it (*Oriental Illus.*, p. 72) as common in India. Distance is even often noted by the number of "nights," rather than "days." Thus, for example, Egypt is said in an Arabian geography to be "forty nights" in extent from north to south (see Extracts from "Geography of Abd-er-Rashid el-Bakouy," in *Memoirs Relative to Egypt*, p. 433, note). "The Arabian authors frequently reckon by nights', and not by days', journeys."

The custom of guiding caravans by means of smoke and light is referred to by many authors. Kurtz (*Hist. of Old Cov.*, II., 297 *f.*) clusters numerous illustrations of the custom. Curtius (*De Rebus Gestis*, V., 2-7) tells of Alexander the Great employing this method in his campaigns. A trumpet gave the signal for a march. But as its sound could not be heard amid the noise and confusion of an encampment, it was supplemented by a beacon or cresset on a lofty pole before his head-quarters pavilion. This could be seen by all from near and far; and it was a guide to all. "Fire was to be the signal by night; smoke by day" ("*Observabatur ignis noctu, fumus interdiu*"). The context of the narrative in Curtius shows that Alexander adopted this custom in the East—where it probably had long prevailed. Harmar (*Observations*, II., 265-273) shows that to the present day the same custom is adopted by trading caravans. In one of the Anastasi Papyri (quoted in *Speaker's Com.* at Exod. 13: 21), "the commander of an expedition is called, 'a flame in the darkness at the head of his soldiers.'" It is not that the pillar of fire and cloud which led the Israelites was not miraculous; but it is that its form and purpose were in the line of Oriental methods. "We cannot but acknowledge," says Kurtz, "that in the pillar of cloud and of fire, in which Jehovah himself accompanied and conducted his people, there was some reference to the ordinary caravan-fire, which served as a guide as well as a signal of encampment and departure to the caravans and armies of the East. For, in the design and form of the two phenomena we can trace exactly the same features; the difference being that the one was a merely natural arrangement, which answered its purpose but very imperfectly, and was exceedingly insignificant in its character, whilst the other was a supernatural phenomenon, beyond all comparison more splendid and magnificent in its form, which not only served as a signal of encampment and departure, and led the way in an incomparably superior manner, but was also made to answer far greater and more glorious ends."

Pitts (*Religion and Manners of Mahometans*, p. 430 *f.*), describing the annual Mekkeh Pilgrimage, says: "They have lights by night (which is the chief time of traveling, because of the exceeding heat of the sun by day), which are carried on the

the children of Israel went out at the Lord's command, "the Lord went before them by day in a pillar of a cloud, to lead them the way; and by night in a pillar of fire, to give them light; to go by day and night. He took not away the pillar of the cloud by day, nor the pillar of fire by night, from before the people."[1] And they must march or rest as the guiding pillar moved on or stayed.[2]

"And it came to pass, when Pharaoh had let the people go, that God led them not through [out of Egypt by] the Way of the Land of the Philistines, although[3] that was near[4] [when they were encamped there not far from it, within the Wall, after their leaving Succoth]; for God said, Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt." The people were not yet a nation in condition for warfare; to fight their way into Canaan. They must have a farther training to fit them for a work of con-

tops of high poles, to direct the *hagges* [pilgrims] in their march. They are somewhat like iron stoves, into which they put short dry wood, which some of the camels are loaded with; it is carried in great sacks, which have a hole near the bottom, where the servants take it out as they see the fires need a recruit. Every *cottor* [company, or division] hath one of these poles belonging to it, some of which have ten, some twelve, of these lights on their tops, or more or less; and they are likewise of different figures as well as numbers; are perhaps oval way, like a gate; another triangular, or like an N or M, etc., so that every one knows by them his respective *cottor*. They are carried in the front, and set up in the place where the caravan is to pitch, before that comes up, at some distance from one another. They are also carried by day, not lighted; but yet by the figure and number of them the *hagges* are directed to what *cottor* they belong, as soldiers are, by their colors, where to rendezvous; and without such directions it would be impossible to avoid confusion in such a vast number of people."

[1] Exod. 13: 21-22. [2] Num. 9: 15-23.

[3] There has been some discussion over the force of the Hebrew word *kee* (כִּי), here translated "although." It is claimed by some (see *Schaff-Lange Com.*, in loco) that it should be rendered "for." But the meaning of the sentence is the same in either case. "They were not led that road for its nearness." Yet Gesenius, Kalisch, Alford, Murphy, and others, approve the reading "although."

[4] Hebrew *qaro*[illegible]*h* (קָרוֹב), "nigh," "at hand."

quest. "But God led the people about [around by] the Way of the Wilderness of the Red Sea."[1] From the northernmost of the three roads out of Egypt desertward, they must turn to the southernmost. Well-nigh the whole stretch of the Isthmus, the entire eastern border of Lower Egypt, must be wearily traversed by that restless and undisciplined multitude. "And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, that they turn [literally, "turn away"[2]] and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-zephon: before it shall ye encamp by the sea."[3] All that journey to be taken, and then an encampment at the end of it. A strange and bewildering order. And God knew that it would seem strange, and that it would be bewildering; and it was for just that reason that he gave the order.

"For Pharaoh will say of the children of Israel [when he hears of this strange retrogressive movement, said the Lord], They are entangled[4] [confused, bewildered, dazed] in the land [in my land, in the land of Egypt]; the wilderness [beyond, with its terrors] hath shut them in [here].[5] And . . . he shall follow after them;

[1] Exod. 13: 17, 18. This statement is clearly a comprehensive one, in advance of the details of the narrative which it summarizes. It is so understood by scholars generally. "We have here to do with an introductory and summary account," says Lange (*Schaff-Lange Com.*, in loco).

[2] See Gesenius and Fürst, s. v. *shoobh* (שׁוּב). The word always means an entire change of direction, a *turning away from.* Commonly, although not always, it means to *turn back*, to *return.* In Josh. 19: 12, 27, 29, 34, it is employed as describing an abrupt change of direction, yet not a return. The word is used for the turning away from sin in "conversion." (See Englishman's *Heb. and Chald. Concord.* s. v.) As Mead says (in *Schaff-Lange Com.* in loco), "If merely *turning aside* had been meant [here], *soor* (סוּר), or *panah* (פָּנָה) would have been used."

[3] Exod. 14: 1, 2.

[4] Hebrew *bookh* (בּוּךְ), "confused," "perplexed." See Gesenius and Fürst, *s. v.*

[5] It is a noticeable fact, that to this day a common argument against accepting the plain record of the Bible text, as to the directed course of the Israelites in this move southward from the northernmost road, is its seeming unreasonableness. Thus, for example, the Jewish historian Graetz (*Gesch. der Juden*, I., 384) says confidently:

and I will be honored upon Pharaoh, and upon all his host."[1] It has been so common to understand the word "entangled," of our English version, as referring to a geographical, instead of a mental, entanglement, that the plain meaning of the text has been obscured in the minds of most readers. When Pharaoh should hear that the people whom he had manumitted had failed to go out from the land of their bondage; but that on the contrary, after days of waiting, they had actually turned back from the very gates of the wilderness barrier, and were now wandering in seeming aimlessness along the inner face of that barrier,—what could he think but just that which is foretold in the text, as sure to be his opinion? "Poor fools!" he would say to himself. "They would not know when they were well off. Now that they have reached the borders of my land, and think of going out into the wilderness beyond, they shrink from it; and no wonder that they do. They move from place to place, uncertain as to their better course. They are in sore perplexity here in the land; but they cannot go outside of it. The wilderness is too forbidding for their entrance to it; it shuts them in here. They are now in a good state to be brought back to their work and their homes."

Like the Bible narratives generally, this story of the exodus does not read in unbroken continuity. First there will come a

"Are we to suppose that they marched forty-five miles along the western shores of the Bitter Lakes [after reaching that part of the eastern border], and even to the southern point [of the Isthmus]? To what purpose? The farther south they followed that route the more dangerous was their march. It was just rushing into the lion's jaws." It evidently strikes Graetz now much as the Lord said it would strike Pharaoh at the time. So, again, it has impressed Villiers Stuart (*Nile Gleanings*, p. 7): "It would be utterly inconceivable," he says, "that Moses, . . . would deliberately go out of his way to place the Red Sea between himself and the point to reach, when the direct route of the Isthmus lay before him. That he may have done it to create an occasion for a miracle is quite untenable"—notwithstanding the fact that the Bible distinctly declares (See Exod. 14: 1-4) that this was so!

[1] Exod. 14: 3, 4.

summary statement, as of the Lord's leading his people around by the southernmost road instead of the northern one.[1] Then there will follow the details of the people's movements, step by step.[2] After that, in alternation, the movements of Pharaoh and of the people, will be given, one by one.[3] So now, after the Lord's announcement of what will surely be the opinion of Pharaoh, the record goes back to show how Pharaoh's mind had been prepared for this stage of the Lord's plans.[4]

The order for the manumission of the Israelites had been given by Pharaoh in an hour of intensest excitement, and under the pressure of personal grief and fear.[5] After the orders issued by him, had been obeyed, the report of their execution by those to whom they had been entrusted, was duly made to the king. Then came the natural conflict of feeling in view of all the facts involved. "And it was told the king of Egypt that the people [had [6]] fled [had gone as he had directed]: and the heart of Pharaoh and his servants was turned against the people." [7] "A good riddance!" was the first thought, with the memory fresh in mind of the terrible plagues which Egypt had endured on that people's account. But when the empty houses of all that people were numbered, and the thought came of the lack of those efficient laborers, and those border-land defenders,[8] there was another feeling than that of rejoicing on the part of Pharaoh and his servants. "And they said, Why have we done this, that we have let Israel go from serving us?" And when Pharaoh was in that frame of mind, and the news was brought to him of the aimless wanderings of the bewildered people on the borders of his land, and still within its walls,—is there any wonder that he should rouse himself up for their pursuit? His feeling must have been: "I will go down and drive back those

[1] Exod. 13: 17, 18. [2] Exod. 13: 19, 20.
[3] Exod. 14: 5–12. [4] Exod. 14: 5. [5] Exod. 12: 30–33.
[6] See note on Hebrew tenses, at p. 389, f. [7] Exod. 14: 5. [8] Exod. 1: 10–14.

poor fools to their work again." And "the Egyptians pursued after them, all the horses and chariots of Pharaoh, and his horsemen, and his army, and overtook them encamping by the sea, beside Pi-hahiroth, before Baal-zephon."[1]

13. THEORIES OF THE ROUTE.

The prefatory summary of this narrative in the Bible text[2] shows, that the new move of the Israelites was from near "the Way of the Land of the Philistines," to near "the Way of the Wilderness of the Red Sea;" or, as has already been shown, from the northernmost to the southernmost of the three great highways out of Lower Egypt eastward. This would place their encampment, at the time of Pharaoh's coming in their pursuit, at a point, or in a region, near the then head of the western arm of the "Yam Sooph," or Red Sea, the modern Gulf of Suez; over against that gateway, or sally-port, of the Great Wall, which served as the exit of that southernmost road into the wilderness. This in itself sufficiently locates its vicinity, even without any identification of the particular land-marks noted in the narrative; although helps to such identifyings are not entirely wanting.

It is obvious that the doubts which have been raised by some, concerning the ancient limits of the western arm of the Red Sea, and its identity with the Yam Sooph of the Bible-text, have confused the minds of investigators in their endeavors to track the route of the Israelites. Thus, for example, Graetz[3] has latterly argued for the crossing of the Israelites at a point north of Lake Timsâh, near what has been shown to be the highest point of the Isthmus, and not far from what must have been the Way of Shur. Any one who is familiar with the proofs of the limits of the Gulf of

[1] Exod. 14: 9.

[2] Exod. 13: 17, 18.

[3] *Gesch. der Juden*, I., 378–390.

Suez in ancient times will see the essential error in the argument of Graetz. M. de Lesseps[1] has suggested a crossing-place a little to the south of Lake Timsâh. But he is evidently not so familiar with the Isthmus as it was in the days of Moses, as with the Isthmus as it is to-day. And so it might be said of many others who have proposed to find the ancient head of the Yam Sooph considerably farther north at the time of the exodus, than at present.

Yet another theory of the route of the exodus, would carry it along the borders of the Serbonian Lake, on a narrow strip of land between that lake and the Mediterranean Sea. This theory seems to have been first broached by Hase[2] at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and then taken up by Richter,[3] later in the same century. It was re-stated and pressed by Thierbach, in 1830.[4] It was further elaborated, and advocated with fresh vigor, by Schleiden,[5] in 1858; and it had the support of Schneider, and Radenhausen.[6] Again it was taken up anew with a really brilliant and dazzling array of claimed corroboratory evidence from the Egyptian monuments, by Brugsch, before the International Congress of Orientalists at London, in 1874.[7] This theory, as thus re-shaped and presented by Brugsch, attracted very many and carried captive not a few. Its strength lay in the reputation of its eminent advocate, and in his unqualified claim of sure identifications in a field where his knowledge was unchallenged. But it could not stand the test of thorough examination. Its very foundations were baseless.

For myself I can say,—as an illustration of the effect of an ex-

[1] See Bartlett's *Egypt to Pal.*, p. 146 *f.*, and his sketch map at p. 156.

[2] Hamelsveld's *Bib. Geog.* (A. D. 1796), IV., 3., p. 349.

[3] See Chester's "Journey" in *Surv. of West. Pal.*, "Special Papers," p. 86.

[4] See Stickel's "Der Israeliten Auszug aus Ægypten" (p. 330), in *Stud. u. Krit.*, for 1850.

[5] *Die Landenge von Suês*, pp. 189-202.

[6] See Ebers's *Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 107.

[7] This essay, "The Exodus and the Egyptian Monuments," is given in full in Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 363-398.

amination into the several points claimed by Brugsch in support of his theory, in contrast with the effect of its surface reading,—that I was swept along in the current of its bold assertions, and that I began the investigations here recorded with a strong prepossession in its favor; a prepossession which was increased by a conversation concerning it with the late Professor Palmer, of London, and by a knowledge that it had the confidence of other scholars to whom I looked up with admiration. But at every step of an independent investigation I found fresh cause for rejecting the conclusions of Brugsch on the points which were vital to his theory. In my studies I gave first prominence to his own voluminous and learned writings; to his "History of Egypt under the Pharaohs," his "Geography of Ancient Egypt," his "Hieratic and Demotic Lexicon," and his "Geographical Dictionary." The result of these studies as supplemented in the broader field of kindred literature on the points in question, I have already referred to, in their order in the foregoing pages. I have found, and I think I have shown, that in the treatment of the sites of Rameses, Succoth, Etham, and Migdol; in his limitation of the roadways out of Egypt, and the extent of the Wall, Shur; as, also, in his explanation of the term Yam Sooph,—at each and all of these points,—Brugsch is clearly at fault in his exodus theory, and is at variance with positive declarations and exhibits of fact made by himself elsewhere in his writings. He has re-arranged sites, changed directions, and mis-stated distances, as if for the purpose of conforming the facts to a preconceived theory of the exodus. And as to the one remaining point which his own writings did not negative for its necessary use in his theory, his brother Egyptologists affirm that he is wholly incorrect. Scholars so eminent in this realm as Ebers[1] and Renouf[2] insist that Brugsch's understanding of the

[1] In *Gosen zum Sinai*, pp. 111, 526.

[2] In *Proceedings of Soc. of Bib. Arch.*, for Nov. 7, 1882, pp. 13–18.

meaning, and hence of the location, of "Pi-hahiroth" is entirely at fault, Renouf going so far as to say that Brugsch's attempt to identify this site "involves the wrong reading of many words, a fatally erroneous and exploded system of etymology, and false theories of decipherment and language."

In short, it has been found that of the eight main points of claimed identification in Brugsch's theory of the exodus, as indicated above, not *one* of them stands the test of a thorough examination; whereas if any seven of them were shown to be fairly probable, the proven error at the eighth is sufficient to necessitate the rejection of the theory.[1]

14. THE LAST CAMP WITHIN THE WALL.

And now to return to the Israelites at their encampment "by the sea, beside Pi-hahiroth, before Baal-zephon."[2] They were yet within the Great Wall. They were near the Way of the Wilderness of the Red Sea; near the modern Way of the Hajj out of Lower Egypt, a highway which has swept across the desert, from gulf to gulf, from time immemorial. They were not far from the shore of the Red Sea; in a locality where three well known landmarks were back of them, or about them[3]: Migdol, Pi-hahiroth, and Baal-zephon. Migdol was the outlook tower which overlooked

[1] I will say, just here, that this examination of Brugsch's theory was substantially completed, and its results written out, before the record of the discovery of the site of Pithom was received. In fact, that discovery does not in itself disprove a single essential point of Brugsch's theory; although it seems to have reversed the opinions, concerning that theory, of reputable scholars, who had before this overlooked the great facts of the Hebrew and the Egyptian records which were irreconcilable with his claims.

[2] Exod. 14: 9.

[3] The Hebrew *liphnai* (לִפְנֵי), rendered "before," and "over against," with reference to these places (comp. Exod. 14: 2, 9; Num. 33: 7, 8), commonly means "in front of," "at the east of," as indicating direction; yet it also may mean "over against" in a general sense.

that southernmost road desertward. A trace of its site seems to be preserved in the hill and pass of Muktala or Muntula, some five to six hours northwesterly from Suez.[1] Pi-hahiroth, or as it appears in the Hebrew, at Numbers 33: 8, "Hahiroth" (without the Egyptian place-mark "Pi"), is not identified beyond dispute; yet there are seeming traces of its name in 'Agrood,[2] or Ajrood,[3] or Akrood,[4] where is now, at about four hours northwest of Suez (northeasterly from Muktala), a fortress, with a very deep well, for the accommodation of pilgrims going out on the Way of the Red Sea.[5] The correspondence of 'Ajrood with Hahiroth has been recognized by such scholars as Ebers,[6] Ewald,[7] Kurtz,[8] Stickel,[9] Keil and Delitzsch,[10] Laborde,[11] Strauss,[12] Tischendorf,[13] Canon

[1] See page 377, *supra.*

[2] اجرود, as given in "Carte Topographique" of *Description de l'Egypte.*

[3] عجرود, as given by Edrisi (see Ewald's *Hist. of Israel.*, II., 69, note); also in "Arabic Index," Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, III., Append., 201, first edition.

[4] As given by Niebuhr (*Reiseb. nach Arabien*, p. 216).

[5] See Niebuhr (as above); Burckhardt's *Trav. in Syria*, p. 627; Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, I., 45; etc.

[6] "As concerns the name 'Adjrud, Agirud, one can recognize in it, without hesitation, Pi-hachiroth, or, as it appears in its Egyptian form, with the rejection of the prefix syllable Pa, or Pi, denoting locality (properly 'house'), Achiroth" (Ebers's *Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 526).

[7] "The opinion of Léon de la Borde, in his *Commentaire Géographique sur l'Exode et les Nombres* (Paris, 1841), that the present castle 'Ajerûd, or Ajrud .... is to be identified with its site and name [of Pi-hahiroth] .... is not without probability" (Ewald's *Hist. of Israel.*, II., 69, note).

[8] "Pi-hachiroth, we find even by name, in Ajrud; for Pi is merely the Egyptian article, . . . and there are many instances of analogous changes (compare Stickel [*Studien u. Kritiken*, for 1850], p. 391)" (Kurtz's *Hist. of Old Cov.*, II., 323).

[9] "Der Israeliten Auszug," in *Stud. u. Krit.*, for 1850, p. 391.

[10] "The only one of these places that can be determined with any certainty is Pihachiroth, or Hachiroth (Num. 33: 8, . . .), which name has undoubtedly been preserved in the Ajrud mentioned by Edrisi, in the middle of the twelfth century" (Keil and Delitzsch's *Bib. Com.*, at Exod. 14: 1, 2).

[11] *Com. Géog. sur l'Exode*, p. 75. [12] *Sinai u. Golgatha*, p. 92.

[13] *De Israelitarum Transitu*, p. 25.

Cook,[1] Clark,[2] President Bartlett,[3] and many others whose opinions are entitled to weight.

Baal-Zephon is the name of a divinity. It represents a combination of Semitic and Egyptian objects of worship. The precise nature and symbolism of this divinity have been much in question; but I think that an examination of the facts available will make the whole thing clear.

When the Hykshos kings were in supremacy in Lower Egypt, they introduced there the worship of the sun-god Ba'al,[4] a chief deity of the nations north and east of Egypt,[5] and probably their

[1] *Speaker's Com.*, at Exod. 14: 2.

[2] "The spot [Pi-Hahiroth] may reasonably be identified with Ajrud" (*The Bible Atlas*, p. 21 *f.*).

[3] "There seems on the whole to be good reason for finding Hahiroth at Ajrood" (Bartlett's *Egypt to Pal.*, p. 169).

[4] "In mentioning the names of Ba'al and Astarta, which we so frequently meet with in the inscriptions, it is scarcely necessary to point out that both have their origin in the Phœnician theology" (Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, I. 244). Birch, as cited in Appendix to (*A Thousand Miles up the Nile*) names "Bal or Ba'al" as an object of Egyptian worship "introduced from Semitic sources." See also his *Egypt*, p. 117. Ebers (*Pict. Egypt*, I., 100) directly ascribes the introduction of Ba'al worship into Lower Egypt to the Hykshos conquerors.

[5] "The inhabitants of the region from the valley of the Euphrates to the river of Egypt, and the Phœnician colonies in the Occident, were united in the worship of the supreme deity, *Bel* or *Baal*. The Babylonian and Assyrian Bel is probably a compressed form from בְּעֵל (*Be'el*). It is, at all events, the same as the Hebrew and Aramaic בַּעַל (*Ba'al*) lord. Not infrequently, however, we find the plural בְּעָלִים (*Be'alim*). This may, as a plural of number, in some cases, refer to a plurality of gods as worshiped at different places, and under different attributes, but usually it is an intensive plural, great lord, or supreme lord, like אֱלֹהִים (*Elohim*), the supreme object of reverence. . . . Baal was also the sun-god, and hence is associated with the term שֶׁמֶשׁ (*shemesh*) sun; and his place of worship is called *Beth-Shemesh*, and in Phœnician inscriptions he receives the predicate *Baal Samim*." (Prof. C. A. Briggs, on "Jehovah and Baal" in "The Sunday School Times" for Aug. 4, 1883.)

"The Ba'al of the Syrians, Phœnicians, and heathen Hebrews is a much less elevated conception than the Babylonian Bel. He is properly the sun-god, *Ba'al Shamen*, Ba'al (lord) of the heavens, the highest of the heavenly bodies, but still a

own god before they entered Egypt. In doing this, with a view to meet the prejudices of the Egyptians, and to secure for their god a recognized place in the worship of the conquered people, they associated their deity, under an appropriate symbolism with Set, or Sutekh, or Typhon, who was already the patron-divinity of Lower Egypt;[1] and they uplifted that dualistic-god, of Ba'al-Typhon, into the pre eminent place, in Lower-Egyptian worship.[2]

mere power of nature, born like the other luminaries from the primitive chaos." (Prof. W. Robertson Smith, in *Encyc. Brit.*, ninth ed., Art., "Ba'al.")

Sanchoniathôn (as given from Eusebius, in *Cory's Ancient Fragments*, p. 4 *f.*) says of the first inhabitants of Phœnicia, that "when great droughts came [upon the land] they stretched forth their hands to heaven, toward the sun, for this (he says), they supposed to be the only god, the lord of heaven, calling him Beelsamin [*Ba'al-shamîm*], which name among the Phœnicians signifies lord of heaven, but among the Greeks is equivalent to Zeus, or Jupiter."

[1] De Rougé (*Six Prem. Dyn.*, p. 9, etc., cited by Tomkins) finds traces of Set in the Fourth Dynasty. Meyer (Set-Typhon, p. 47, cited by Tomkins) tells of a temple dedicated to Memphis in the Fifth Dynasty. An altar in the Turin Museum, of the time of the Sixth Dynasty, has on it an inscription to Set, according to Lepsius (*Ueber d. erst. Ægypt. Götterkr.*, p. 48).

[2] "Set . . . appears on the monuments as early as the Sixth Dynasty, and is treated with the same honor as the other members of the family of Seb. . . . But the great interest of the god Set was his connection with the Hykshos and Canaanites, when he generally bears the name of Sutekh or Sut. As such he was worshiped during the Shepherd rule in Amaris [Avaris?]; after which his worship still continued, apparently in connection with Baal, and he was the type of Northern, as Horus of Southern, Egypt." (Birch in Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt*, III., 144 *f.*)

"The testimony of the Papyrus Sallier is clear and explicit: 'The king Apepi adopted Sutech as his god; he did not serve any god which was in the whole land.' [Lushington's translation, in *Rec. of Past*, VIII., 3, is: "King Apapi took to himself Sûtech for Lord, refusing to serve any other god in the whole land."] Sutech, or Set, in later ages the representative of the evil principle Typhon, is identified, and was certainly confounded with Ba'al of the Phœnicians," says Canon Cook (in Essay I. appended to "Exodus" in *Speaker's Com.*); and he adds: "The peculiarity of Apepi, and probably of his predecessors, would seem to be his exclusive devotion to this deity." As will be shown, Ba'al was not "identified" with Set, although he was *combined* with him in worship.

"At the head of all stood the half Egyptian and half Semitic divinity of Set, or

In the Egyptian mythology, Rā, Osiris, and Horus, represented the sun. There were various symbolisms in these deities, in their different manifestations and relations; but in a peculiar sense they all stood for the sun, and its light, and its favor, and its life-giving power.[1] Over against them stood Set, as a symbol of darkness and the works of darkness; and he was at times in conflict with each of these gods of light. In this antagonism, Set was the representative of evil, as in contrast with good; more especially with good as represented by Horus, his immediate and constant rival; yet, at the first, it was rather the notion of evil as the necessary adjunct and complement of good, than of absolute evil—an idea which had no place in the early Egyptian mythology.[2]

Sutekh, with the surname Nub 'gold,' who was universally considered as the representative and king of the foreign deities in the land of Mazor. In his essence a primitive Egyptian creation, Set gradually became the contemporary representative of all foreign countries, the god of the foreigners." (Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 244.)

[1] "There can be no controversy about the meaning of Rā," says Renouf (*Relig. of Anc. Egypt*, pp. 113–117). "Rā is not only the name of the sun-god, it is the usual word for sun." Again there are "mild Osiris, the sun," and Isis, the dawn, who were "wedded before they were born, and the fruit of their marriage was Horus, the sun in his full strength." And in the Egyptian Book of the Dead (chap. XVIII., 42, 43, as cited by Renouf) it is told how Osiris came to the soul of Rā, and "each embraced the other, and became as one soul in two souls." "This," adds Renouf, "may be a mythological way of saying that two legends which had previously been independent of each other were henceforth inextricably mixed up. This, at all events, is the historical fact. In the words of a sacred text, 'Rā is the soul of Osiris, and Osiris the soul of Rā.' But Horus also is one of the names of the sun, and had his myths quite independently of Rā or Osiris." There are some reasons for supposing that the two sun groups of Rā and Osiris were originally quite distinct, but were brought together through some political uniting of the regions of their central worship. (See R. S. Poole's Art. "Egypt" in *Encyc. Brit.*) At all events they were ultimately connected interchangeably. For added light on the myths of Rā, Osiris, and Horus, see Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.*, III., 1-242; Bunsen's *Egypt's Place*, Vol. I.; Lepsius's *Ueber d. erst Ægypt. Götterkr.*; Poole's Art. "Egypt" in *Encyc. Brit.*; Villiers Stuart's *Funeral Tent of an Egyptian Queen*, pp. 25–28, etc.

[2] "Set, though the antagonist of light, in the myths of Rā, Osiris, and Horus, is

Set stood over against Horus (and in Horus there was, as we have seen, a certain blending of the symbolism of Rā and Osiris also), in the relation of night to day, of winter to summer, of desert-waste to river-valley, of treacherous sea to solid land, of struggle and warfare to rest and peace.[1] Set, moreover, stood as in a sense

not a god of evil. He presents a physical reality, a constant and everlasting law of nature, and is as true a god as his opponents. His worship is as ancient as any. The kings of Egypt were devoted to Set as to Horus, and derived from them the sovereignty over North and South. On some monuments, one god is represented with two heads, one being that of Horus, the other that of Set." (Renouf's *Relig. of Anc. Egypt*, p. 119.)

"Of evil in the positive sense as opposed to good, the Egyptian religion had no knowledge. Their feeling as to evil was that it was but transitory, a passage to future salvation; as dying was merely the process of death, which was in fact the threshold of the true and everlasting life." (Ebers's *Pict. Egypt*, I., 100 *f.*)

"Looking, therefore, upon the bad as a necessary part of the universal system, and inherent in all things equally with the good, the Egyptians treated the Evil Being with divine honors, and propitiated him with sacrifices and prayers. . . . During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, and perhaps long after that period, he continued to receive the homage of numerous votaries; but subsequently a general feeling of hatred seems to have sprung up against him, and his figure was erased from the sculptures." (Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.*, III., 142.)

[1] "Whatever may be the case in other mythologies," says Renouf (*Relig. of Anc. Egypt*, p. 113), in referring to Max Müller's theories, "'I look upon the sunrise and sunset, on the daily return of day and night, on the battle between light and darkness, on the whole solar drama in all its details, that is acted every day, every month, every year, in heaven and in earth, as the principal subject' of Egyptian mythology." "Set the destroyer . . . . is darkness." "The victory of darkness over light was appropriately represented by the myth of the blind Horus." (*Ibid.*, p. 118.)

Referring to the myth of the conflict between Set and Osiris (which was continued by Horus for his father Osiris), Ebers says (*Pict. Egypt*, II., 210): "The inundation of the Nile, and the fertility of the earth, the illuminating power of the sun, the fundamental principles of human life, the ultimate triumph of goodness and truth, as figured by Osiris, are apparently assailed and vanquished by Typhon [and Birch adds in a note, that 'in hieroglyphs Typhon is called Set']—that is, by drought and the encroachments of the desert, by the darkness of night, mists, clouds, and storms, by death, by lies, and all the evil and restless stirrings of the soul; but as soon as the diminished flow of the river swells again, the young crops grow green, a new sun lights and cheers the world, and disperses the mists, the human soul rises again in

the guardian god of foreigners, as over against Horus the guardian god of the home-born. And as Horus was peculiarly the tutelary deity of Southern or Upper Egypt, so was Set of Northern or Lower Egypt.[1]

It was not uncommon in the mythology of Ancient Egypt, to combine divinities, as well as to interchange them in their peculiar symbolisms. This has been referred to in the association and intermingling of Rā and Osiris, and again of Horus with both these gods. Again it is illustrated in "Amen-Rā," and "Aten-Rā," and in their combinations with other gods.[2] Ordinarily, however, these

the other world to a new and everlasting life, truth triumphs over falsehood, and good conquers evil. Horus has overthrown Typhon, avenged his father, and restored him to his throne."

Lepsius (*Ueber d. erst. Ægypt. Götterkr.*, p. 54) speaks of Set as "the god of the empty desert, and the god of the unfruitful sea." Kenrick (*Egypt of Herodotus*, p. 186) quotes Plutarch in proof that the Egyptian Typhon represented the burning "wind of the desert;" also, that "as the sea-water swallows up the Nile, Typhon became an emblem of the sea, which was held in abhorrence by the Egyptian priests, as by the Brahmins."

Ebers says (*Pict. Egypt*, I., 100) that "Seth or Typhon" was "worshipped first as the god of war, and of foreign lands." "The connection of Typhon and Mars, of both of which the hippopotamus was said to be an emblem, is singular," says Wilkinson (*Anc. Egypt.*, III., 147); "and there appears to be a great analogy between Hercules and other of the reputed Typhonian figures." Brugsch (*Hist. of Egypt*, II., 3) speaks of Sutekh as "the glorious god of war." In the representations of the coronation of the kings of Egypt, Horus, in one of his forms (Hat, or Har-Hat) is present to give to the king the emblems of life and power, while Set, in one of his forms (Nubti), comes to teach him the use of his weapons of war. (See Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.*, III., 134 *f.*)

[1] Of Horus (as Har-Hat) Wilkinson (as above) says: "When opposed to Nubti [or Set] he appears to represent the Upper as the latter the Lower Country."

[2] "Amen-Rā, like most of the gods, frequently took the character of other deities; as of Khem, Rā, and Chnoumis; and even the attributes of Osiris. . . . which though it appears at first sight to present some difficulty, may readily be accounted for, when we consider that each of those whose figure or emblems were adopted, was only an emanation or deified attribute of the same great Being, to whom they ascribed various characters, according to the several offices he was supposed to perform. The intellect of the deity might be represented with the emblems of the almighty power,

combinations were of deities which were similar, or kindred, in their symbolism.[1] Only in the case of Horus and Set does there seem to have been, in the days before the Hykshos, a combination of two gods of opposing or antagonistic characters and purposes. Indeed such a combination would hardly be possible except with the two forces, or essences, represented in these two gods. But *this* combination clearly did exist, as is shown by its representation on the monuments,[2] under the figure of a man with two heads; the one the hawk-head of Horus (which was also the head of Rā); the other the peculiar head of Set, resembling "an ass with clipped ears."[3]

Nor is it difficult to understand the meaning of this symbolism. Horus, as representing the South with its light and life-giving power, stood for Upper Egypt with its supply sources of the Nile, the stream which was all in all to Egypt. Set, as representing the

or with the attributes of his goodness, without in any manner changing the real character of the heavenly mind they portrayed under that peculiar form; and in like manner, when to Osiris, or the goodness of the deity, the emblems of Ptah the creative power were assigned, no change was made in the character of the former, since goodness was as much a part of the original divinity from which both were derived, as was the power with which he had created the world." (Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.*, III., 9 *f.*) See also a description of "Ammon-Horus," and his worship as Khem, in Birch's *Egypt*, p. 59; and again of "Aten-Rā" (at p. 107 *f.*).

[1] Wilkinson (*Anc. Egypt*, III., 11) says of Amen in his mythological combinations, "Under the name Amen-Rā he was the intellectual sun, distinct from Rā, the physical orb." And he adds: "If it be true that Amunti, or Amenti, signified 'the giver and receiver,' the Amen-Rā may be opposed to Aten-Rā, and signify the sun in the two capacities of 'the receiver and the giver.'"

[2] See Plate 531, in Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.*, III. 135; also Plate in Bunsen's *Egypt's Place in Univ. Hist.*, at close of Vol. I.

[3] Tomkins (*Times of Abraham*, p. 148) thinks that "the horns or ears of the Set-monster may be conventional representations of rays of light," such as are found on the eagle, and on the hawk-headed gryphon of Ba'al, in the hieroglyphs. "The Set-monster is occasionally represented with wings," and in Tomkins's opinion, was intended for "an eagle-headed lion." He thinks that the evidences "clearly establish the joint worship of Osiris (or his son Horus) and Set in these very early times of the Fourth Dynasty, by the builders of the great pyrmids."

North with its shade and its desolation, stood similarly for Lower Egypt, where the desert and the sea received and absorbed the Nile. But the South and the North, the light and the darkness, the river and desert and sea, had certain common interests and relations, and were interdependent on each other. It was fitting that their combination and balance should have some such recognition as was evidenced in the two-headed figure of Set-Nubti, whose seat of worship was at Ombos,[1] and who seemed in a peculiar sense to indicate the co-working for a common end, of the protecting divinities of both Upper Egypt and Lower.[2] Indeed the two-headed Set-Nubti is called the "lord of the earth"[3] (which includes the idea of all Egypt), instead of being counted the divinity of only one portion of Egypt.

It will now be seen how naturally and easily the incoming Hykshos conquerors may have adapted the Ba'al cult to the old Egyptian worship. Ba'al, *their* sun-god, might stand for Rā, Osiris, and Horus, the sun-deities of the ancient Egyptians. And in dualistic conjunction with this sun-deity, they could take its fitting opposite,—Set, or Typhon, the distinctive divinity of Lower Egypt, where they now ruled. Whether they had worshiped Set, or Sutekh, before they came into Egypt, or not,[4] there was now a

[1] Birch (in Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.*, III., 145) says of Set: "The chief seat of his worship was at Ombos, where he had the name Nubti, or Ombos, and Set-Nubti, of Set, Lord of Ombos." It was Nubti whose figure was represented with the double head. (See plates in Wilkinson and Bunsen, as above referred to.)

[2] Ebers (*Ægypt. u. d. Büch. Mose's*, p. 248) says, that in addition to its cosmic signification, this combination of two opposing principles, in Horus-Set, has "a political signification;" for this dual-divinity "is often called 'the Single-one of both lands' [the Twain-one of Upper and Lower Egypt]; 'the Horus of the South and the North;' 'the bestower of the white crown of Upper Egypt, and the red crown of Lower Egypt.'" See. also, on this point Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.*, III., 135 *f;* Tomkins's *Times of Abraham*, p. 146 *f*.

[3] Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.*, III., 135, Egypt is often spoken of, on the monuments, as the earth, or the world; as including all the earth that was worth having.

[4] *After* the days of the Hykshos, the god Set, or Sutekh, was a chief god of the Kheta

reason for their exalting his worship; in the fact of his being both the local divinity of their new dominion, and the recognized patron god of foreigners—such as they had been before their triumph.

This new dualistic god would naturally be uplifted into a prominence far beyond that ever occupied by Horus-Set; for it included in its scope that which had been included in the worship of Rā, Osiris, and Horus, as well as of Set and Nubti. It was in a sense the worship of Rā-Set,[1] or Set-Rā, and traces of its attempted improvement under that very name have been found on the monuments.[2] Yet Ba'al so took the place of the Amen-Rā, and the Rā-

in the north of Syria. This may have been a result of the Hykshos reign in Egypt; or, again, it may indicate that Set was familiar to them before their Egyptian sway. An image of Sutekh, or Set, accompanied the image of Khetasin, the king of the Kheta, (as his patron divinity), on the silver tablet of the famous treaty of peace between that king and Rameses II. (See *Rec. of Past*, IV., 32; Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 76, 410 *f.f.* I have not found any evidence, nor any reason for supposing, that Set, or Sutekh, was a god of the northern nations *before* his Hykshos worshipers had brought a knowledge of him out of Egypt, at the time of their expulsion; whereas the evidence is complete, that, centuries before that date, Set was worshiped in Egypt, and Ba'al was worshiped in the North and East; and, that from the days of the Hykshos rule Ba'al was worshiped in Egypt, and Set was worshiped beyond.

1 "There is reason to believe that the god Rā corresponded to the Syrian Ba'al, a name implying 'lord,' which was given *par excellence* to the sun," says Wilkinson (*Anc. Egypt.*, III. 53).

2 "M. Mariette has discovered the curious fact that one of those kings [of the Twenty-second Dynasty], a hitherto unknown Osorkon, altered the figure of Seth in the legends of Ramses II. at Tanis to that of a Set-Rā" (*Musée Boulaq.*, p. 273). See R. Stuart Poole's Art. "Egypt," in *Encyc. Brit.*, ninth ed. Birch adds, that Set's "worship as Set-Rā . . . was kept up by Osorkon II." (Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.*, III., 145.) This change from Set, which had come to include the idea of Ba'al-Set, to Set-Rā, is a natural change on the part of one who would restore the more ancient religion to the land.

Plutarch (*De Isid. et Osir.*, Chap. 50) tells of a statue of Typhon shown at Hermopolis (Heroöpolis) in his day, as "a hippopotamus on which stands a hawk fighting with a serpent." This statue has been counted by some (including Graetz in *Gesch. d. Juden*, I., 385) as "Ba'al Zephon;" but its symbolism is clearly that of Rā-Set, or Horus-Set, rather than of Ba'al-Set, or Ba'al-Typhon. The hawk represented Rā, and also Horus and other sun-gods of Egypt. (See Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt*, III., 4,

Osiris, cult, that it is not strange that those who introduced it were charged with abandoning the worship of all the old gods save only Set.[1]

From this time on, the worship of Ba'al in conjunction with the worship of Set, or Sutekh, or Typhon, was so general and so prominent in Lower Egypt, that the intermingling of the symbols of the two gods in the inscriptions has led some of the Egyptologists to believe that the two gods were deemed absolutely identical, instead of inter-dependent and co-equal; that their individual personalities were lost, instead of being combined in a dualistic union. Bunsen first suggested[2] that Bar, or Bal, or Ba'al, was one of the names of Set; and that Champollion had brought out the proof of this "without recognizing it." Ebers[3] has affirmed that in the hieroglyphics, "for Set, the Canaanitish Ba'alim are regularly the representatives."[4] And Canon Cook[5] has claimed that "Sutech is

50, 124). "Porphyry says, 'The hawk was dedicated to the sun, being the symbol of light and spirit,' because of the quickness of its motion, and its ascent to the higher regions of the air." "The hawk-headed Har-Hat, whose emblem was the winged globe, placed over the doors and windows of the Egyptian temples," is also closely connected with Horus; and indeed seems to be one manifestation of Horus. Moreover, Horus is frequently represented as battling with a serpent (Aphôphis, or Apôp), which in its turn is linked with Typhon. And Typhon is represented by the hippopotamus." (See *Anc. Egypt.*, III., 121, 152, 154). Thus the Heroöpolitan image seems to have been the lineal successor of Ba'al-Zephon, but not that divinity himself. It was, in fact, Ba'al-Zephon after the reformation. Yet that image illustrates the dualistic divinity idea of Horus-Set, and of Ba'al-Typhon.

1 "King Apapi [a Hykshos ruler] took to himself Sutech for lord, refusing to serve any other god in the whole land." "(First Sallier Papyrus" *Rec. of Past*, VIII., 3).

2 *Egypt's Place in Univ. Hist.*, I., 426.

3 *Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 524.

4 Ebers has thought (see *Pict. Egypt*, I., 100) that the Egyptians gave the name Set to the Hykshos god Ba'al as a term of opprobrium; but the evidence from the monuments is conclusive that the god Set received unfeigned homage in Egypt down to long after the days of the Hykshos. As Renouf says (*Relig. of Anc. Egypt*, p. 120): "It was not till after the empire that this deity came to be regarded as an evil deity."

5 In Essay I., appended to Exodus, in *Speaker's Com.*

identified with Ba'al in numerous inscriptions;" and that "Sutech, or Set, in later ages the representative of the evil principle, is identified, and was certainly confounded, with Ba'al of the Phœnicians." But Lepsius[1] is sure, that while the fabulous beast which stands for Set is sometimes placed as a determinative after the name of the god Bar, or Baru (which Lepsius naturally thinks may be the Semitic Ba'al[2]); yet that the god Bar, or Ba'al thus indicated is "always distinguished from Sutekh the son of Nut." And Lepsius thinks that the reason for this use of the Set-determinative in conjunction with Ba'al is, that Set was regarded in Egypt as the god of "the out-land," having patronage of foreign peoples and foreign gods; hence Ba'al as a god from an "out-land" is brought in under the guardianship of Set.[3] And this would well agree with the combination of Ba'al-Set, as inaugurated by the Hykshos conquerors.

Certainly there was a clear distinction kept up between the gods Set and Ba'al, even while they were worshiped together, in the days of the Ramessids.[4] Rameses I. gave to his son a name signifying "He that is devoted to Set."[5] At the crowning of Setee's son, Rameses II., Set and Horus are shown to have participated.[6] Yet Rameses II.,[7] according to the poem of Pentaur, is

[1] *Ueber d. erst. Ægypt. Götterkr*, p. 50.

[2] Bunsen (*Egypt's Place*, Vol. I., p. 427) gives Bar and Bal in the Egyptian as synonymous with the Phœnician, Syrian, and Babylonian Bel, Bol, Ba'al, Ba'hal, Belus. Birch, also (*Egypt*, p. 117), gives Bar as synonymous with Ba'al. And Lushington (*Rec. of Past*, II., 68, note) says: "Bar, a war-god of foreign origin, allied to Set in form and properties, supposed to be the same as Ba'al."

[3] So Brugsch (already quoted at page 409) says 'Set gradually became the contemporary representative of all foreign countries, the god of the foreigners."

[4] "King Seti and his race worshiped the foreign gods in the most obtrusive manner, and at the head of them the Canaanitish Ba'al-Sutekh, or Set, after whose name his father, Rameses I., had called him Seti—that is, 'the Setish,' or 'the follower of Set.'" (Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 24.)

[5] See Renouf's *Relig. of Anc. Egypt*, p. 119 *f.*

[6] See Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.*, Plate LXI., at Vol. III., p. 361.

[7] See "Poem of Pentaur," in Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 58.

likened by his eulogists to "Ba'al in his time";[1] one of his brigades, in the great battle of his life-time, bears the name of Set; and by his enemies he is said to represent both "Set" and Bar;" "Sutekh" and "Ba'al."[2] "No mortal born is he whoso is among us; Set, the mighty of strength; Bar, in bodily form," is their cry in the hour of his prowess at Kadesh on the Orontes.[3] Set and Ba'al were manifestly *two* gods, although, from the days of the Hykshos rule in Egypt, they had been worshiped in dualistic combination, as Ba'al and Set; and that combination justified (and it explains) their apparent interchangeable mention after that date.

Finally, as if to put at rest all question as to the identity of the Ba'al-Set of the Hykshos cult, as revived by the Ramessids,[4] the name itself of the dualistic deity in its Semitic-Egyptian form of Ba'ali-Zapoona,[5] or Ba'ali-Tsapuna,[6] is found on the monuments; and that this is the same name as the Ba'al-Zephon (or the Ba'al-Tsephon) of the Hebrew Scriptures does not admit of

[1] See Lushington's translation of "The Third Sallier Papyrus," in *Rec. of Past*, II., 68.

[2] See Brugsch, as above (p. 60); and Lushington, as above (p. 72).

[3] The mention of Bar or Ba'al, and Sut or Sutech, in conjunction, in this poem of Pentaur's, clearly does not mean that the two gods are identical; for Ammon, and Râ, and Horus, and Ptah, are also named as represented by Rameses in that battle; but they are not thereby confounded in their separate identities.

[4] The Ba'al-Set worship in Egypt, which was introduced by the Hykshos kings, fell from its pre-eminence with their expulsion; and in this fall the worship of Set, himself, lost somewhat in its repute; although Set still received honor from the kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty, even from the last king of that dynasty Hor-em-heb, whose name indicates his devotion to Horus the opponent of Set, and who is called "Horus" by Manetho. (See Lepsius's *Denkm.*, Abth. III., Bl. 119, 122.) But with the Nineteenth Dynasty there was a marked revival of the Ba'al-Set, or Ba'al-Typhon cult. (Comp. Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.*, III., 136–145; Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, I., 243–245, 274–278; II., 23-25, 393; Renouf's *Relig. of Anc. Egypt*, p. 119 *f.*, etc.)

[5] As discovered by Goodwin, in one of the papyri in the British Museum. (See Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 393.)

[6] See Ebers's *Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 524 *f.*

serious question. Indeed on this latter point there is no dispute. It is agreed, by all, that Ba'ali Tsapuna is Ba'al-Zephon. The only remaining doubt has been, as to the identity of Ba'ali Tsapuna (or Ba'al Zephon) with Ba'al-Set or (Ba'al-Typhon);[1] and

[1] Ebers (*Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 524 *f.*) recognizes the fact that Ba'al-Zephon is referred to in the Ba'ali-Tsapuna of the monuments. He is also confident (*Pict. Egypt*, I., 100; II., 210) that "Set" and "Typhon" are identical; and in this he agrees with Lepsius, Bunsen, Wilkinson, Brugsch, Birch, Kenrick, Renouf, Maspero, Lenormant, Cook, and Egyptologists generally; but he is not sure that Tsapuna (or Zephon) is the same as Typhon, or Set. He thinks, indeed, that the "Tsapuna" included in the "Ba'ali-Tsapuna" of the monuments (the "Baal-Zephon" of the Bible) "may have been the Phœnician god of the North Wind, which latter, according to Philo, was named 'Tsaphon.'" As a reason for his doubt concerning the identity of Ba'ali-Tsapuna and Ba'al-Set, he says of the hieroglyphs which represent the former: "After the Ba'al group is placed the Set-animal( ) as determinative; after the name Tsapuna [is placed] the class sign ( ), marking him as a god of foreign lands." But *does* this properly throw doubt on the identification? The class sign ( ), which here follows the name Tsapuna, is the ordinary determinative for "a god"; and Lepsius has shown (*Ueber d. erst. Ægypt. Götterkr*, pp. 30, 52) that this very determinative is repeatedly employed for Set ( ) in the Egyptian "Book of the Dead." Ebers may, indeed, consider this determinative as indicating a *foreign* god, because it is not the specific designation—the proper name as it were—of any well-known Egyptian divinity (although it was sometimes, as we see, employed as the proper name of Set, or Typhon, who was himself, according to Lepsius, and Ebers, and others, the "god of foreign lands"). It must be considered, however, that a composite god, combining the objects of worship of the old Egyptians and of their new masters, and bearing a Semitised Egyptian designation, could not well have a familiar specific Egyptian determinative. In this case, the name of the Semitic Ba'al is followed by the determinative of Set—an unmistakable Egyptian deity (although Ba'al, the sun-god, and Set, the god of darkness, could not, in the nature of things be considered one and the same; and they were not so considered, as Lepsius has shown). Then follows in a Semitic-Egyptian form the name of a god known in Egypt as Set, and in Phœnicia as Tsaphon, with a closing determinative to show that the combination as a whole was a divinity. This very peculiarity of presentation would seem to show that this dualistic divinity was an exceptional one in Egypt. The missing link of proof that the Ba'al-Tsaphon and the Ba'al-Set were one and the same object of worship, is found in the evidence of their identity of symbolism.

that doubt will be removed, I think, by the evidence of the identical symbolism of these two dualistic gods.

"Ba'al-Zephon" is understood by many to mean "Lord of the North;"[1] but this is to take the words in their hard and literal meaning, without recognizing their applied and symbolic signification. Ba'al had a personality in the minds of his worshipers, which went beyond the etymological meaning of his name as "lord" and "master." To them Ba'al was Ba'al.[2] So, also, it was with Zephon.

Tsaphon,[3] or Tsephon,[4] Tsephona,[5] means in Hebrew, and in Phœnician, the North, or the Darkness, or the Shadow, or the Winter, or the Region of Destructive Winds; as over against the South, the Light, the Summer, the Region of Calm and Warmth; "since the ancients regarded the North as the seat of gloom and darkness, in contrast with the bright and sunny South";[6] as "the dark cold region, where the sun and stars are extinguished, and the light swallowed up."[7] Tsaphon, as a god, therefore, included the idea not of the North as a region, but of that which the region of the North typified. "Tsephon," or "Tsaphon," in the Hebrew and in the Phœnician,[8] was the correspondent of "Tebha" in the

[1] See Selden's *De Dis Syriis* (chapter *De Bel-Tsephonte*); Chabas and Lauth, as cited by Ebers, in *Gosen zum Sinai* (p. 524); Von Gerlach's *Com. on Pent.* at Exod. 14: 2; Bunsen's Egypt's Place, III., 201; Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*, II., 393, 427, Sayce, in "The Sunday School Times" for June 23, 1883.

[2] The prophets of Ba'al, at the trial on Mount Carmel (1 Kings 18: 21–40), "called on the name of Ba'al from morning even until noon, saying, O, Ba'al hear us!" And Elijah's mocking comment was: "Cry aloud: for he is a god; either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is in a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth, and must be awaked."

[3] צָפוֹן. This appears to be the form given by Philo, as cited by Ebers.

[4] צְפוֹן. As given with Ba'al, at Exod. 14: 2, 9.

[5] צְפוֹנָא. As given in Buxtorf's *Lex. Chald. Tal. et Rab.*

[6] Gesenius's *Heb Lex.*, s. v., "Tsaphon." [7] Fürst's *Heb. Lex.*, s. v., "Tsaphon."

[8] See references at foot of page 418, *supra*.

Egyptian,[1] of "Tephon," or "Tuphon," in the Aramaic,[2] and of "Typhon" in the Greek.[3] Either word represented the idea of each and all of the other equivalents; and each word when used as the name of a divinity represented a distinct identity, an ideal personality.

Every indication which the monuments or records of Egypt, of Phœnicia, or of the regions east or west of those lands, give to us concerning the characteristics of a divinity bearing any one of these names, goes to show the same idea which is represented in the earlier Egyptian divinity, Set; in the later Hittite divinity, Sutekh; and in the still later Greek divinity, Typhon. It would seem clear indeed, that Set, Seth, Sutekh, Tebha, Tephon, Tuphon, Typhon, Tsapuna, Tsaphona, Tsaphon, Tsephon, Zephon, represent one and the same idea, principle, essence, divinity; and that Ba'al (as the Semitic correspondent of the Egyptian Rā, Osiris, and Horus) in combination with any one of those names, represents the opposite of that idea, principle, essence, divinity; the two terms together representing the dualistic divinity of Ba'al Set, or Rā-Set, or Horus-Set, or Ba'al-Typhon, or Ba'al Tsaphon, or Ba'al-Zephon.

How clearly all this brings out the identification and relative location of the sanctuary, or the image, of Ba'al-Zephon, in the story of the exodus. Typhon was the guardian of Lower Egypt. Typhon was the god of the desert. Typhon was the emblem of the sea. Typhon was the controlling deity of all foreign peoples. Typhon was the favored divinity of the reigning Pharaohs in the

[1] Ebers (*Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 2[illegible]5) says: "Typhon appears, according to Diestel's thoughtful exhibition of the evidence, to be originally un-Egyptian. . . . We must, therefore, with Dümichen, look to 'Tebha,' for an existent name, and one to be held as Typhon."

[2] See Lenormant's *Beginnings of History*, p. 551.

[3] Kenrick (*Egypt of Herodotus*, p. [illegible]85) says: "The name [Τυφών] appears to be originally Greek."

days of the Hebrew oppression. Ba'al-Typhon, or Ba'al-Zephon, was the one object of common worship among those who accepted the Ba'al cult imported from the North, and those also who determinedly adhered to the old divinities of the Egyptian theogony. The place of places for a shrine of Ba'al-Typhon was over against the wilderness-gateway of Lower Egypt; looking toward the East whither the Ba'al worship was always directed; overlooking the desert which Typhon ruled; above the sea which Typhon typified; watching against the foreigners whom Typhon controlled. The northernmost highway out of Lower Egypt, as also the central one, went Canaanward. Only the southern road led pre-eminently desertward, while at the same time it was in proximity to the sea.

And when Pharaoh-Meneptah, of the family Devoted-to-Typhon, neared the eastern borders of his dominion, and saw the objects of his pursuit gathered there under the very shadow of his own patron-divinity, the guardian god of the Land which they would flee from, how auspicious must the sign have been to him; and how confident his assurance that success was now his, so certainly as Ba'al-Typhon was Ba'al-Typhon.[1]

[1] The more common symbol of Set, or Typhon, was a dog of peculiar form (as shown herewith,). It is noteworthy, therefore, that a rabbinical tradition was, that Ba'al-Zephon "was a brazen dog fabricated by the magi of Pharaoh, . . . that he might turn aside the Israelites from their directed journey, by his horrid barking; and so might stop their flight" (Dieterich's *Antiq. Bib.*, p. 24). "Rashi" (*'al ha-Torah*, at Exod. 14: 2) states that Ba'al-Zephon was the one remaining idol of Egypt from whose seductions the Israelites were to escape (as, in fact, Ba'al-Set was the one dominant idol of the region of the Israelites' bondage); and "Rashi" declares that this idol was called איוב (*Ayob*), or "Enemy," "from causing nations to err, and destroying them." This character corresponds with the Typhonic or Satanic idea. Indeed the Hebrew name of Satan (שָׂטָן) means Adversary, or Accuser (See Job 1: 6, and margin; also, Psa. 109: 6; Zech. 3: 1). And Villiers Stuart has suggested (*Funeral Tent of an Egyptian Queen*, p. 27) that Set being "represented as a beast with long pointed ears and erect tail" may "be the origin of the popular representations of Satan, the ears having come to be regarded as horns."

In fixing the location of the shrine of Ba'al-Zephon yet more definitely, there are helps in its mention in the text. The place of the encampment of the Israelites by the Red Sea is described by four cardinal points. It is in some way bounded, or indicated, by :— Migdol, the Sea, Pi-hahiroth, and Ba'al-Zephon.[1] The Sea must, in the nature of things, have lain at the eastward. As the commandment was to encamp "between Migdol and the Sea,"[2] Migdol is naturally to be looked for at the westward of the Sea. And as Pi-hahiroth is said to be "before," or "over against," Ba'al-Zephon,[3] while the camp is at one time said to be "before," or over against Pi-hahiroth,[4] and again to be "before" or "over against" Ba'al-Zephon,[5] at the same time that it was "before" Migdol,[6] it follows that Pi-hahiroth and Ba'al-Zephon must have been in the relation of northerly and southerly to each other;[7] since Migdol was westerly, as over against the Sea which lay easterly.

This corresponds, so far, with the supposed identifications of Migdol, at or near, Muktala; and of Pi-hahiroth, or Hahiroth, at 'Ajrood. The landmarks at the northerly and westerly bounds of the place of encampment are at points which conform with all the indications of the text. This goes to fix the shrine of Ba'al-Zephon as at some point southerly from 'Ajrood, and southward of a line running from Muktala to the Sea.[8] In that direction the

De Rouge, followed by Tomkins (*Times of Abraham*, p. 149 *ff.*), thinks that the Egyptian Set is connected with the Hebrew *shedheem* (שֵׁדִים) translated "devils" in Deut. 31: 17, and Psa. 106: 37.

[1] Exod. 14: 2, 9; Num. 33: 7, 8. [2] Exod. 14: 2. [3] Num. 33; 7, 8. [4] Exod. 14: 2. [5] Exod. 14: 2, 9. [6] Num. 33: 7.

[7] Our English translation renders the same Hebrew word with different equivalents in the Bible narrative. *Liphnai* (לִפְנֵי) is rendered as "before," and again as "over against." This is a word that frequently means "eastward," in the sense of "in the face of" (see note at page 44). But the fact that the word is applied in the course of this narrative to two or three places interchangeably, shows that it here means "over against," rather than "eastward." Two places could not, each of them, be eastward of the other; but each of them could be over against the other.

[8] Keil and Delitzsch (*Bib. Com.*, at Exod. 14: 1, 2) say that the hill of Muktala,

mountains of 'Atâqah stand out too prominently to be overlooked as a probable site of such a shrine, as that of Ba'al-Zephon must have been. Their summit commands a view of the isthmus, of the sea, and of the desert eastward; just that sweep which the worshipers of Ba'al-Typhon would have wished to have under his watchful gaze. Ebers[1] has advocated Gebel 'Atâqah as a site of Ba'al-Zephon, and other scholars[2] have accepted his judgment on this point as probably correct. It is not easy to find any sound reason for questioning its correctness.

15. UNLOOKED-FOR PURSUIT.

A glance at the map will show the field where the Israelites encamped (over against Pi-hahiroth on the north, and Ba'al-Zephon on the south, between Migdol on the west and the Red Sea on the east), when they had turned back at the Lord's command from their encampment within the Great Wall, in the vicinity of the Road of the Land of the Philistines. And it was there that they were surprised by seeing the chariots of Pharaoh coming down from the westward in their pursuit.

It must not be forgotten that the Israelites were up to this time not fugitives, but emigrants. They had gone out from their homes not secretly, nor in the fear of pursuit, but openly and above-board; "with a high hand, in the sight of all the Egyp-

"when looked at from the sea, is almost behind Ajrud; so that the expression 'encamping before Migdol' does not suit the situation." But the hill is farther west, and farther south than 'Ajrood; and its tower would plainly be a western landmark, as over against 'Ajrood as a northern one. The description of the locality, in the command to the Israelites, was not intended to fix the four cardinal points of the compass precisely, but to indicate well-known land (and water) marks, in four general directions.

[1] *Gosen zum Sinai*, pp. 524–526.

[2] So, *e. g.*, Keil and Delitzsch (as above); Hamburger (*Real-Encyc.*, s. v., "Ba'al-Zephon"); Bartlett (*Egypt to Pal.*, p. 170).

tians."[1] It is true that the "Egyptians were urgent" upon them to lose no time in leaving their homes, and that "they were thrust out of Egypt," or out of their old Egyptian dwelling-place, because of the fear that to hold them back another day from their desired exodus would endanger the lives of all who hindered them.[2] But all this made any pursuit of them for their re-capture the less probable, even though they dallied, as it were, for many days, at the entrance of the wilderness. Hence their surprise when, at their encampment by the sea, "the children of Israel lifted up their eyes, and, behold, the Egyptians marched after them;"[3] the chariots of Pharaoh coming toward them from the field of Zoan.

Then it was that "they were sore afraid," and that they "cried out unto the Lord." And for what? Pharaoh's unexpected pursuit of them showed a new change of mind and purpose on his part. Either he was actuated by a desire to avenge the blood of his first-born, or his thought was to turn them back to the land they had come out from. In either case, if they were to pass through the Great Wall which frowned before them, they must now battle for the privilege. And that put a new face on the entire situation. After all, was the prize before them worth what it now must cost? They had been long enough away from their homes to feel the discomforts of a nomadic life; but not long enough away to see its possibilities of good to them. The wilderness beyond the Wall was at the best a forbidding outlook; more so than ever, with a prospect of a life and death struggle to reach it.

The sight of their former masters brought fairly before them the question whether they had really gained anything by leaving their old service, or whether they were likely to gain anything. "And they said unto Moses, Because there were no graves in Egypt, hast thou taken us [from our old homes in Egypt] to die in the wilder-

[1] Num. 33: 3. See, also, Exod. 14: 8.

[2] Exod. 12: 33. [3] Exod. 14: 10.

ness [which stretches out before us here? What are you looking for, anyhow? Is it graves for us all? If that is what you are after, there were graves enough in Egypt. It is a land of tombs and mummies. And there is certainly nothing better than graves in the wilderness we have set out for]. Wherefore hast thou dealt thus with us, to carry us forth out of Egypt? Is not this the word that we did tell thee in Egypt, saying, Let us alone that we may serve the Egyptians? For it had been better for us to serve the Egyptians, than that we should [go on any farther, to] die in the wilderness."[1] And the Israelites were more than half ready to make terms with Pharaoh, as he drew near their camping-place; and to promise to turn back with him to their old bondage. They certainly were not ready to fight for a passage through the sally-port of the Great Wall in their front.

16. THE GREAT WALL FLANKED.

Then it was that Moses spoke the words of cheer and promise which put new heart into that panic-stricken people: "Fear ye not," he said to them. "[You will have no fighting to do.] Stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord, which he will show to you to-day: for the Egyptians whom ye have seen to-day, ye shall see them again no more for ever. The Lord shall fight for you, and ye shall hold your peace."[2] And such a prophecy from such a source commanded respect, and prepared the way for renewed obedience on the part of those who had learned to look for wonder-working from the Lord. Then followed the divine directions for the miraculous passage of the Red Sea at their right and front. The frowning Wall might continue to frown. The Lord's people should pass around its seaward bulwarks.

"And the Angel of God which went before the camp of Israel,

[1] Exod. 14: 11, 12. [2] Exod. 14: 13, 14.

removed and went behind them; and the pillar of the cloud went from before their face, and stood behind them: and it came between the camp of the Egyptians and the camp of Israel; and it was a cloud and darkness [to them], but it gave light by night [to these]." "And the waters were divided. And the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the dry ground: and the waters were a Wall [1] unto them on their right hand and on their left. And the Egyptians pursued and went in after them to the midst of the sea," [2] along that new Wall Road in the bed of Yam Sooph, in the darkness of that cloud. It was as though a dense fog had shut in between the Israelites and the Egyptians; and all the landmarks of the region were hidden from the host of Pharaoh, while they were still clear as daylight to the children of Israel. The Egyptians knew that the Israelites were moving off in their front, but they could not see whither. They groped on after them in the cloudy darkness, but without coming near them; "the one came not near the other all the night."

One of the most plausible objections that has been raised against the narrative of the crossing of the Red Sea as it stands in the Bible text is, that when the Egyptians saw that the Israelites were passing over on a new made ford, they would have been more likely to go with their chariots around the head of the sea, and intercept the fugitives on the other shore, than foolishly to follow them in their perilous path. But it is plain from the narrative,[3] that the Egyptians were following the Israelites into the bed of the waters without knowing it. They were as in a fog, so that neither Wall nor mountain nor shore could be discerned by them; and the last thing in the world they could have thought of as a possibility, was a miraculous pathway through the waters of the Red Sea.

[1] In the Targum of Onkelos (at Exod. 14: 22, 29) the word used for the water-walls is "Shurs" (Chaldaic *Shooreen*, שׁוּרִין), the plural of Shur.

[2] Exod. 14: 19–23.

[3] Exod. 14: 19–23.

It was enough for the Egyptians that the Israelites were unmistakably moving before them. Where it was safe for Pharaoh's bondsmen to lead, it ought to be counted safe for Pharaoh's chosen chariots to follow.

And so the night-march went on. The Israelites moved forward in the light. The Egyptians groped on after them in the bewildering darkness of the fog-like cloud. And it came to pass, that in the early morning, after all that night's marching and groping, when at last the Israelites were safe on the eastern shore of the sea, and the Egyptians were all unconsciously midway between the shores, the chariot wheels of the Egyptians began to drag heavily, and to wrench and yield in the treacherous sands of the bared sea-bed; and at the same time the Lord let in upon the eyes of the folly-blinded Egyptians the startling glare of a preternatural light, and caused them to realize at a glance that in pursuing the Israelites they were encountering Jehovah. "Jehovah looked toward the host of the Egyptians, through the pillar of fire and of the cloud;" and at that look the cry of the appalled and dismayed pursuers went up: "Let us flee from the face of Israel; for Jehovah fighteth for them against the Egyptians."[1]

But it was too late. The hour of the Egyptians' doom had come. There was no help in Ba'al-Zephon. "Jehovah said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand over the sea, that the waters may come again upon the Egyptians, upon their chariots, and upon their horsemen. And Moses stretched forth his hand over the sea . . . and the waters returned and covered the chariots, and the horsemen, and all the host of Pharaoh that came into the sea after them; there remained not so much as one of them."[2]

"Thus Jehovah saved Israel that day out of the hand of the Egyptians." Thus the Great Wall of the Land of Bondage was flanked, and Israel went beyond it into the Land of Training, as a

[1] Exod. 14: 24, 25. [2] Exod. 14: 26–28.

nation of freemen. And Israel's song of rejoicing rang out in the morning air of the desert:—

"I will sing to Jehovah;
For excelling, he hath excelled:
The horse and his charioteer hath he cast into the sea. . . .

"The chariots of Pharaoh and his might hath He cast into the sea;
His choice captains were drowned in the Weedy Sea:
The deeps covered them;
They went down to the bottom like a stone.

"Thy right hand, Jehovah, is glorious in strength:
Thy right hand, Jehovah, brake in pieces the foe;
In the greatness of thy exaltation, thou hast overcome them that rose up against thee:
Thou didst send forth thy wrath and it consumed them like stubble;
And with the breath of thy nostrils, the waters piled themselves on high:
The flowing waters stood up like a mound:
The waters were congealed in the heart of the sea.

"Spake the foe:
I will pursue;
I will overtake;
I will divide the spoil;
My soul shall be glutted upon them;
I will draw my sword;
My hand shall destroy them.

"Thou didst blow with thy wind:
The sea covered them;
They whirled down like lead in the mighty waters.

"Who is like thee among the gods, Jehovah?
Who is like thee, glorious in holiness; terrible in renown; doing marvels? . . ."[1]

"So Moses brought Israel from the Red Sea, and they went out into the Wilderness of the Wall."[2]

[1] Exod. 15: 1-11. [2] Exod. 15: 22.

17. POINTS NOW MADE CLEAR.

In view of all that this study of the route of the exodus has disclosed, it is evident that several points which have been commonly overlooked or undervalued in the biblical narrative and in the monumental records, are of unmistakable importance in the resolving of that route.

1. A prominent feature in the Bible narrative is the Great Wall of Egypt, which stood as a border barrier between the Delta and the desert, from the Mediterranean Sea to the modern Gulf of Suez. The existence of that Wall is established beyond all fair questioning. It was variously known, by the Hebrew name of Shur, by the Egyptian name of Khetam or Khetamoo, and by the Semitized Egyptian name of Etham. The desert beyond the Great Wall, eastward, was known interchangeably, as the Desert of Shur, and the Desert of Etham. It was into that desert that the Israelites made their exodus from Egypt.

2. There were three great highways out of Egypt eastward. They are mentioned in the Bible text by their former well-known descriptive titles: the Road of the Land of the Philistines, the Road of the Wall, and the Road of the Red Sea, or the Road of the Wilderness of the Red Sea. These three roads are clearly referred to in the Egyptian monumental records. The face of the country on the eastern borders of Lower Egypt, and beyond, shows where must have been the course of these roads; and it still gives traces of them severally. The sure location of these roads, respectively, fixes important points in the route of the exodus.

3. The numbers of the Israelites, and the requirements of the Bible narrative forbid the suggestion that any city or town was a starting-point, or a stopping-place, in the route of the exodus; hence the hope of determining that route by any discovery of the ruins of one town or another in Lower Egypt, is based on a miscon-

ception of both the letter and the general tenor of the Bible narrative. The Israelites started out from their scattered homes in the district of Rameses-Goshen, and made their general rendezvous at Succoth, in an extensive camping field along the line of lakes of which Lake Timsâh is the centre. Thence they moved forward toward the Great Wall, and encamped within it, at some point near the northernmost of the three roads desertward. From that camping-place they were turned southward nearly the entire length of the Isthmus, and made their final camp, before the exodus, at a region bounded eastward by the western arm of the Red Sea, westward by a prominent watch-tower such as guarded each of the three roadways out of Egypt, northward by Hahiroth, and southward by an image or shrine of the Semitic Egyptian dualistic divinity Ba'al-Set.

4. It would appear from the Bible narrative, that while there was haste in the starting out of the Israelites from their homes in Rameses-Goshen to their Succoth-rendezvous, there was no pressing haste in their subsequent movements, until the time of their midnight crossing of the Red Sea. The indications of the narrative would point to, from say ten to twenty days, or more, between the passover-night and the night of the crossing. Moreover, there is nothing in the text that justifies the belief that there was but a day's journey between any two of the stations named as the great landmark camping-places; while there is every reason to believe that several days must have been taken in passing down along the Great Wall; from the encampment near the Philistia Road to the encampment by the Red Sea. Hence, there can be no help to an identifying of any particular site, by its supposed single day's distance from another site.

5. The northernmost stretch of the western arm of the Red Sea was then practically at the present head of the Gulf of Suez. Whatever difference existed must have been a slight one. Hence the last camping-field of the Israelites must have been near the

northern shore of the Gulf of Suez, as being near the exit, through the Great Wall, of the Red Sea Road (which corresponded with the modern Hajj route into and over the Red Sea desert). The crossing of the Red Sea must have been from that starting-point.

6. Whatever disclosures may be made by further explorations in the region of eastern Lower Egypt, must be studied and viewed in the light of these facts, which by the Bible narrative and the monumental records are already made clear and definite beyond a peradventure.

INDEXES.

LIST OF AUTHORITIES CITED.

[This list indicates the particular edition of each work from which citations have been made in this volume. Where more than one edition has been cited, both editions are indicated. All of the works named in this list have been cited at first hand. A supplemental list indicates the works cited at second hand.]

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